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11 January 1985

## **Southeast Asia Report**

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11 January 1985

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PARTY PROPAGANDA OFFICIAL DISCUSSES PROBLEMS, FUTURE TASKS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Oct 84 p 4

/Article by PRAVDA Correspondent Ye. Fadeyev, Vientiane: "In Important Directions. The Life of the Brother Parties"

/Text/ The Lao People's Revolutionary Party, as was observed at its Third Congress, has accumulated a great deal of work experience in the socialist restructuring of society. But time does not stand still. It dictates the necessity of further improving the style and methods of party leadership. The stages of the transformations in economic and social-political life have their particular characteristics in the republic. Let us recall that it is still experiencing the influence of the heritage of the semifeudal past. Or the fact that the overwhelming majority of the population--90 percent--is made up of peasants.

Our conversation with Khamma Phomkong, deputy chief of the LPRP Central Committee Department of Propaganda and Indoctrination, begins with a discussion of the specific conditions of Laos.

"The determining factor in the victory over a monarchy which had outlived its time in December 1975 was the fact that the party was able to ensure the strong unity of the working class and the peasantry. Under the conditions of an agrarian country, which Laos is, democracy, as noted in party documents, above all and primarily implies democracy for the peasantry, and the liberation of the nation implies above all and primarily the liberation of the peasantry. We always remember these particular characteristics of the development of the republic and try not to let them out of our field of vision," said the interlocutor.

"Let us take one example. When the LPRP Central Committee Politburo passed in 1978 the decree on converting to widespread cooperative organization, special attention was focused on the particulars of its forms and methods, and the fact that this process should be conducted in a well thought-out fashion, without haste, and without fail taking into account the economic, social, and environmental conditions in each farming region. Unfortunately, in some places too much hurry and imprudence have been manifested, and the role of the agricultural tax has been incorrectly understood.

"Learning of these negative phenomena, the Central Committee immediately took measures which corrected the situation. Communists of the Lao People's Democratic Republic have mastered in practice Lenin's advice concerning the first steps of the people's rule: 'More gentleness, care, and tractability in relation to the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, and especially the peasantry.'

"At the current stage of the revolution, tasks of guiding society on the part of the governing party are growing more complex," continued Khamma Phomkong. "On the front of peacetime construction there frequently arise problems more difficult than in the period of the liberation war. Then it was clear: here is the enemy, here is the order--carry it out! Today it is required everywhere that each communist be an example of great political maturity, be competent in the sphere of directing industry and agriculture, possess not only organizational abilities but also a definite sense of the new and progressive, and take a creative approach to the cause. Party construction, Marxist-Leninist indoctrination, and restructuring of ideological endeavors have become our main tasks.

"At the Third Congress, a special place was assigned to questions of construction of LPRP. It was noted that the party ranks are replenished by the best representatives of the working peasantry, the progressive intelligentsia, and the working class, which is becoming stronger with every year. During the years following the proclamation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the number of party members doubled. It is gratifying that the fighting spirit of primary party organizations has increased.

"In their supreme forum, the communists discussed from principled positions certain shortcomings in everyday practical activity," said the interlocutor. "This is the strength of the Marxist-Leninist party: it never rests on what has been achieved; it concentrates attention on possibilities not being used. From the tribune of the congress and in all subsequent party documents it has been shown that some cadre workers--and not only the rank and file workers--have still not adequately mastered the course of the LPRP and its directives. Also intolerable are instances in which local party and government organs sometimes promote people who write deftly and glibly, speak beautifully, but do not bring deep revolutionary convictions to the effort.

"In the ranks of the LPRP there is no place for those who violate the norms of party life and the regulations of the charter," they told me in the party's Central Committee. The republic has created a Committee of Party-State Control under the LPRP Central Committee and Lao People's Democratic Republic Council of Ministers. Organizing this important link of the party apparatus in Laos testifies to the concern for the purity of the ranks of communists, strengthening organization and discipline, and improving work in the selection and indoctrination of cadres.

This was also the subject of discussion at the first all-national conference of the LPRP on organizational questions, which was held this year. A speech was given there by General Secretary of the LPRP Central Committee and Prime Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic Kaysone Phomvihan, who laid out specific tasks for improving methods of organizational work and indoctrination of party cadres in coming years.

The party sees its goal as ensuring that each of its warriors raises his political level and professional training, and is found at the head of the constructive work of the masses, who are resolving the tasks set by the Third Congress and fulfilling the targets of this 5-year plan. Classes are running successfully in the Higher Party-State School. Courses of studying the theory of Marxism-Leninism are proceeding actively. The party's Central Committee has a press organ--the newspaper PASASON--and is creating a theoretical journal. The LPRP's influence on mass social organizations--trade unions, the Union of Lao Women, and the People's Construction Front--is increasing. The Union of People's Revolution Youth, composed of more than 150,000 young men and women, has become a reliable assistant to the party.

To be always at the forefront, to attract people by personal example--that is how the party committee of the northwest province of Udomsai, where I recently had the opportunity to attend a council of friends, is trying to work. We were welcomed in the party committee by Deputy Secretary Bunmi Tyalyansai.

"The changes in this distant area, like the entire country, are many. But the inertia of the past in distant areas makes itself felt more frequently and more sharply," observed the interlocutor. "That is why we are so heartened by the reforging of people's consciousness, their new attitude toward labor."

This is especially remarkable in Udomsai, where the nationalist minority is a majority of the population of the area.

Calmly and in a well-thought-out fashion, the LPRP is carrying on great work in the field of the national question. And despite the continuing raids by enemies, successes are present here. The representatives of all 68 nationalities of the country are today active builders of the new society and masters of their own fate. For the Lao People's Democratic Republic there is lasting value in the rich experience of resolving the national question in the USSR according to the exhortations of V. I. Lenin, note the Lao communists.

Lenin's lessons--Studying the practice of party construction in the USSR, Vietnam, and other states of the socialist commonwealth has become an important cause in the LPRP. The close interaction between the CPSU and the LPRP, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, is becoming deeper and more comprehensive all the time. Life itself confirms the correctness of this course of strengthening the solidarity of the peoples of Indochina, and friendship and collaboration with brother socialist states.

12255

CSO: 1807/79

## RICE SALES, TAXES PAID TO STATE, CROP PROGRESS REPORTS

[The following information is extracted from the Vientiane press on the dates indicated in the parentheses following each entry in the remarks column. The following abbreviations are used PS = PASASON, VM = VIENTIANE MAI, KPL = KHAOSAN PATHET LAO]

<u>Location</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
Sikhottabong District	Since beginning of 1984, farmers have sold to state or exchanged for goods 1,322 tons of rice. Of this 783 tons were paddy. (VM 17 Nov 84 p 1)
Gnommalat District, Khammouan Province	Farmers have completed 70 percent of harvest on a total of 3,353 hectares of rice area. (KPL 15 Nov 84 p A 7)
Vientiane Province	In 8 districts and 1 branch district, 52 percent of the total area planted to rice of 36,000 hectares has been harvested. Average yield is 2.35 tons per ha. This in spite of bad weather, lack of equipment. (VM 20 Nov 84 pp 1, 4)
Sam Neua District, Houa Phan Province	Harvest completed on over 2,200 hectares. (PS 28 Nov 84 p 1)
5 Districts in Louang Namtha Province	Harvest completed on 25 percent of a total area of 4,000 hectares. (PS 28 Nov 84 p 1)
Vientiane Province	Harvest completed on 15,760 hectares out of a total of 36,000 planted. (PS 28 Nov 84 p 1)
Saravane Province	Since January, people have sold 3,000 tons of rice to state. Other products sold include coffee, cardamom, tobacco worth a total of 32,613,300 kip. (PS 27 Nov 84 p 1)
Vienthong District, Houa Phan Province	Completed harvest on 2,670 hectares. (KPL 24 Nov 84 p A 7)



Nasaithong District,  
Vientiane Capital

Harvest completed on 20 percent of a total of 7,100 hectares: 2.3 tons of paddy is the average yield; 1,700 hectares are the planned target for dry season planting.  
(KPL 23 Nov 84 p A 11)

Thakhek District,  
Khammouan Province

Harvest completed on 6,914 hectares.  
(KPL 22 Nov 84 p A 4)

Song Khon District,  
Savannakhet Province

Harvest 85 percent completed on total area of 8,700 hectares that are left after the floods. (KPL 22 Nov 84 p A 4)

CSO: 4206/52



'MILITANT' CEBU LABOR HITS U.S.-MARCOS TIES

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 30 Nov 84 p 3

[Editorial: "For a Unity of Forces"]

[Text] The militant labor sector takes center stage today as they demand for just wages and humane working conditions on the occasion of the birthday of the Great Plebeian, Andres Bonifacio.

In Cebu, the labor sector will be supported by multi-sectoral organizations like the Coalition Against People's Persecution and the Cebu Oust Marcos Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism.

Foremost among the burning issues is the denouncement of the US government to support to the repressive Marcos regime. The mass action is likewise a protest against poverty and misery brought upon the Filipinos by this regime.

Such a wide range of issues, and such a wide array of supporters, all because they perceive the root cause of the present economic and political ills as crony capitalism, semi-feudalism and imperialism as manifested by the US government-backed Marcos dictatorship.

The people's foe is strong, it has shown its strength by staying in power for 19 years. But a people united is stronger, and these rallies showing a unity of forces for a cause will topple down the US-Marcos-dictatorship.

CSO: 4200/283

COLUMNIST ON WEST'S VIEWS OF INSTABILITY

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 30 Nov 84 p 6

[Commentary by Apolonio Batalla: "Political Instability"]

[Text] THE regret of many in the west is they were not able to act on time to help the famine-stricken countries of Africa. They blamed this on lack of information.

It was only when the story of the famine in Ethiopia was shown on British television that relief on massive scale began to flow to the hapless countries. And when it came, charity did not discriminate on political grounds. It would have been callous to deny help to hundreds of thousands of human beings for the simple reason that the regime is Marxist.

Yet thousands of people would not have died if ideological reasons had not played a part in taking the emerging problem of famine lightly. And the cost to the affluent countries would not have been high.

In much of the Third World, politics and political uncertainties play a part in the amount of assistance received from the richer countries. Somehow, the flow of economic assistance is hampered by political problems posed by the developing-country governments and institutions and by the perceptions of foreigners who are in a position to help. For those reasons, development programs are disrupted and living conditions suffer.

However, there are healthy indications that governments and businessmen are learning to live with the political uncertainties in the developing countries, to the advantage of all concerned.

We may refer to the Philippine case. Since August, last year, there has been much talk of political instability. In fact, foreign banks cut off credit to the Philippines on the ground of political instability.

The foreign exchange crisis compelled the government to negotiate for a loan from the IMF and for a rescheduling of maturities and new credits from the private foreign banks.

To our knowledge, that process was not hindered by what foreigners believed was the prevailing political instability here. The negotiations with the IMF were stalled by the finding that the Central Bank had overstated its international reserves by about \$600 million. Later, the negotiations were hampered by questions about excess liquidity, budget deficit, and other economic factors.

Political uncertainty by itself could not have been a factor in the delay in the negotiations because the Philippines was a member-country of the IMF and the IMF charter does not rule out assistance on grounds of political instability.

Political uncertainty could have been a factor if on account of it the member-country asking for assistance could not meet the target magnitudes set by the IMF.

If in spite of the talk of political instability, the member-country meets the requirements set as a pre-condition for assistance, then the okay of the IMF is the basis for favorable action by the lender banks.

Now that the government is about to wrap up agreement with the IMF and the banks, it is clear that present speculation on what may happen if the President leaves the scene is not a problem for the leaders.

Risk is never eliminated from business. There is the risk that the political situation may radically change, but it is also possible that it may not, given the political institutions and the level of enlightenment of the population.

There is the risk that what has been lent cannot be repaid within a reasonable period of time, but it is possible that the new agreements will be complied with.

But it is certain that if agreement is not reached, the problem will become much heavier for all sides and whatever political changes this will bring about will be nothing less than radical.

It may be such weighing of alternatives by governments and enlightened financial and business circles that has brought some relief to the debt problems around the world.

While political problems are inevitable, their effects can be minimized by weighing the alternatives carefully.

CSO: 4200/268

FOREIGN BANKS IMPOSE 'HARSH' TERMS ON NEW MONEY

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 28 Nov 84 p 18

[Text] FOREIGN commercial banks are imposing very "harsh" conditions for the \$925 million new money which the country is seeking as part of the financial package needed to carry out an economic adjustment program over the next 18 months.

One of the conditions is that there should be a confirmation from the managing director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that new money worth \$2.2 billion from official sources "is available for disbursement to the Philippines in 1985."

The banks want that the \$2.2 billion new money from official lenders (governments, agencies like the export-import banks, etc.) should be drawn by the Philippines in 1985.

Another condition, is that the revolving short-term trade facility agreement involving \$3 billion shall have been signed.

Still another condition for the first drawdown from the new money is that all interest arrears on foreign debts of the public and private sectors shall have been paid or shall be paid.

The \$9.7 billion financial package worked out with the 12-bank advisory committee representing 483 commercial creditors provides for new money, maintenance of trade credits, restructuring of existing debts maturing up to 1986 and the maintenance of interbank deposits.

UNDER the plan, the new money will be drawdown in four installments, with the first drawdown of about \$300 million sometime in February/March 1985; second drawdown of \$100 million expected on May 1, 1985, third drawdown of \$175 million on September 15, 1985 and, \$350 million on November 1985.

The drawdowns from the new money provided by the banks will be made almost simultaneously with staggered releases from the \$630 million standby credit being requested from the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

RELEASES of the new money would likewise be subject to certain performance criteria, such as keeping the interest on public sector external debt on a current basis.

The financial package, including the new money component, is currently being presented by Prime Minister Cesar Virata and Central Bank Gov. Jose B. Fernandez Jr. to foreign banks in financial centers abroad.

CSO: 4200/268

## VISITING IMF TEAM INVESTIGATES 'FALSE' PESO FLOAT

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 1 Dec 84 p 3

[Text]

An International Monetary Fund (IMF) team is in Manila investigating reports that what is supposed to be a floating exchange rate is actually an artificial or manipulated float, a highly-placed source told Malaya.

IMF's interest is elicited by suspicions from various quarters that the peso-dollar exchange rates is manipulated when it was found out that of the total dollars available since October 15, 1983 when the dollar-sur-rendor scheme was implemented, 62 per cent was reportedly bought by government-owned Philippine National Bank (PNB) and only 38 per cent went to private banks.

If suspicions are confirmed, it means that the government violated its covenant with the IMF that the exchange rate was unified and allowed to float freely depending upon the interplay of market forces.

The violation would also affect the outcome of pending loan negotiations with foreign creditors and would even derail some targets in the economic adjustment program.

With majority of dollar

holdings in the hands of the government, there is a possibility that the exchange rate could be influenced by tampering with the demand and supply forces.

The suspicions of manipulated float is further fueled by the very minimal fluctuation in the trading floor by "half a centavo depreciation which is not the way a normal market behaves."

Since the peso was floated last October 15, at the initial rate of P20, it has not gone below the P19.90 mark and as of yesterday, the rate was P19.917 to a dollar.

Businessmen expect three to four years of floating rate system, which should be a "freer" float and not the "dirty float we have today."

It is the general perception in the business and industry sectors that the exchange rate is "unrealistic" and expecting a further downplay of demands and supply forces, a number of them have posted their products at more than the prevailing rate of P20-\$1, the source said.

Moreover, government's own projections outlined in

the adjustment program imply an average exchange rate of P22 to P24 by 1985 so that they were puzzled when the rate fluctuated at a fraction of a centavo.

The source said if the exchange rate is not an artificial float, then interest rates wouldn't be as high as over 40 per cent. As high rates reflect tightness in money supply, how could there be high rates when the exchange rate is only P20 to a dollar? the source asked.

From all indications, the exchange rate should be at around the P22 bracket "to allow more room for liquidity in the system," he said.

He also said that the rate is unrealistic considering that when the P15 billion worth of Jobo bills mature, the Central Bank would be pushing back more pesos back into circulation (that it has mopped up through the Jobo bills issuance) and would therefore push dollars to new heights while fanning higher inflation.

This will create a situation where the Central Bank should make certain allowances for the expected increase in money supply.

FOREIGN BANKS 'RELUCTANT' TO EXTEND CREDIT

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 2 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by Edgar Caguiat]

[Text]

A number of local manufacturing firms are unable to open import letters of credit (L/Cs) even if dollars are already available because some foreign banks are still reluctant to extend them credit lines, industry sources said.

Some foreign correspondent banks reportedly continue to refuse the renewal of trade lines with local commercial banks from which importers open L/Cs until the financial package deal being arranged with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is completed, sources said.

The foreign bank's "cautious stance" indicates the "soured credit rating" of the Philippines after it failed to pay its maturing foreign debts that are now on its fifth moratorium.

Refusal to honor import L/Cs and to extend new suppliers' credit is a setback to the business operations of local manufacturing firms because even if they already have the dollars to pay for their imports, there is no foreign bank to guarantee their foreign purchase.

Exporters that could find no foreign bank to honor their L/Cs are also heavily affected since there are some raw materials in the exporting industries that are only available abroad, sources said.

No substitute is found locally, they added.

Industry sources said that when the Central Bank effected a 100 per cent, and later an 80 per cent, mandatory surrender of banks'

foreign exchange receipts, importers were drained of dollars from traditional sources. They were reportedly forced to patronize the high blackmarket exchange rates.

Later, the Central Bank lifted the retention scheme to allow a 100 per cent retention since Oct. 15. It also abolished the priority system of allocating foreign exchange for imports. Despite this, however, industry sources said some correspondent banks "would not even look at our dollar payments."

Sources said these banks would rather wait for the "all-clear signal" from the IMF where new credit lines would be endorsed to the Philippines with the approval of over 400 creditor banks.

Under the new Central Bank rules, all imports valued at more than \$1,000 are covered by letters of

credit, except for documents against acceptance (DA) and open account (OA) arrangements, consignment, and no-dollar imports.

With normal trade flows still restricted, this time by the "uncooperative" attitude of foreign banks, local manufacturing companies would have to cut on their production until such time that trade flow is normalized, sources said.

CSO: 4200/268



## DEBT REPAYMENTS RESCHEDULED AT 4-YEAR MATURITY

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 7 Dec 84 p 25

[Text]

A total of \$4.0 billion of outstanding short-term debt of the country's financial sector (composed of the commercial banking system and the Central Bank) from various foreign creditors is to be restructured into new loans of four-year maturity under the rescheduling package reached with the creditor banks.

During that four-year period, however, the original borrowers will be required by the CB to deposit the peso equivalent of their foreign obligations based on the original maturity period of those debts.

Once the original borrowers deposit the peso equivalent to the CB, their obligations with the foreign lenders are settled to the extent of the dollar equivalent of those

pesos. The CB then becomes the obligor with respect to those debts.

Financial borrowers are to secure the concurrence of their lenders to consider their debt liquidated once they deposit the corresponding peso payments with the CB.

In effect, the CB will have substituted the original borrower since the delivery of the pesos to it by the latter will result in the creation of a dollar deposit obligation of the CB to the lender under the terms, conditions and tenor of the restructured medium-term debt of the public sector.

These terms include a maturity of 10 years, including a four-year grace period, at a spread of 1-5/8 percent of the

six-month London inter-bank offered rate.

The lender may also require the borrower to deliver to the CB the peso equivalent of the latter's obligations. The CB and the lender then will agree on an amortization schedule of four years.

After the pesos have been delivered to the CB, the foreign obligation shall then be assumed by the CB.

The CB reserves the right to designate another entity acceptable to the lender to assume the debt which were earlier assumed by the CB from the original financial borrower.

The lender also can require the other entity designated by the CB to assume the debt if the original

borrower fails to deliver the peso equivalent to the CB at the end of the designated period.

A total of \$2.82 billion representing short-term foreign obligations of the commercial banking system is to be restructured under the terms of the above patterns.

This is broken down into \$500 million owed by the Philippine National Bank, \$1.177 billion by the private commercial banks, and \$1.099 by the four branches of foreign banks (Citibank, Bank of America, Hong Kong Shanghai, and Chartered).

The rest of the \$4.0 billion short-term financial sector debt (\$1.251 billion) is owed directly by the CB.

## MALAYA REPORT ON POSSIBLE FOREIGN AID TO NPA'S BALWEG

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 2 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by Orly Guirao]

[Text]

LAOAG CITY - The confession of a former rebel commander that three foreigners accompanied renegade priest Conrado Balweg in at least two secret meetings of the dissident movement in North Luzon has added weight to suspicions that the New People's Army is enjoying foreign support.

Esteban Domingo, alias Ka Lava, revealed that the meetings were held in a remote barangay in Vintar, Ilocos Norte, a town 7 kilometers from here, sometime between May and June, this year. Domingo, along with 33 others including Dumalneg town mayor Lorenzo Santos, recently surrendered to civilian and military authorities.

The former rebel said Balweg and the foreigners arrived at the cadre meetings on board a red-colored helicopter piloted by a "Negro" who greeted the local dissidents in mixed Spanish-English. Two other aliens, one of them a woman, were Caucasians.

Domingo did not say, however, if the aliens also delivered lectures during the teach-ins.

The former commander also disclosed a grand sabotage and terrorism plan of the NPA in Northern Luzon provinces to be carried out anytime next year.

The plan, discussed in the presence of top NPA field commanders, involves the blasting of major bridges, power and communication lines, and the liquidation by the NPA's sparrow

units of some local officials active in the anti-insurgency campaign in the region.

Insurgency operations are active in at least 12 Ilocos Norte towns as armed elements of the underground movement maintain their so-called strongholds within the frontier borders of Cagayan, Kalinga-Apayao, Abra, Ilocos Sur, and Mt. Province, sources said.

It will be recalled that a red-colored helicopter reportedly piloted by a "black" American provided cover for the retreating dissidents following an encounter in Abra province between government troopers and the rebels last month.

Brig. Gen. Tomas Dumpit, head of Task Force Amianan and commander of the Regional Unified Command (RUC), said Jovencio Balweg, alias Ka Ruby, brother of the rebel priest, led the rebels during that gunbattle which lasted for two hours and left at least three NPAs killed and two soldiers wounded.

It was the first major clash since the formation of the task force, Dumpit said, adding that Balweg's group was reinforced by an armed band believed to have come from the NPA lairs in Ilocos Norte.

Military intelligence, however, could not ascertain whether the red choppers that rebel priest Balweg and the foreigners used was the same helicopter that aided the rebels in the Abra encounter.

CEBU OPPOSITION COLUMNIST WELCOMES RAMOS' RISE

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 16 Nov 84 p 3

[Commentary by Ernie Arcenas in "Just A Minute": "Confidence in the Military"]

[Text] The acceptance of Lt. Gen. Fidel V. Ramos, acting Chief of Staff of Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), that the performance of the military in carrying out its duties is below par and its integrity being not at its best is reassuring at a time when most Filipinos are losing fast its confidence in their erstwhile protectors.

It is reassuring in the sense that the open and candid admission of the problem implies that something is being done to correct the sagging reputation and the low integrity of the men in uniform.

One good thing going for Gen. Ramos is the confidence he now enjoys from the people, particularly from the clergy, oppositionists and the activists. This corner was informed by reliable sources that Jaime Cardinal Sin, the country's Catholic prelate and vocal critic of President Marcos, has full confidence in the person of the new chief of staff. At a time when the entire country is in turmoil economically, the impression given by Gen. Ramos that he will work for reforms in the military gives an air of peace in the troubled minds of our people.

There is however a feeling of insecurity hanging in our minds. For how long Gen. Ramos will stay in his position is a big question. There is this wish that Gen. Fabian Ver, who is on leave after being implicated in the heinous murder of Ninoy Aquino, should not be reinstated to the post. The people's lack of confidence on Gen. Ver is anchored precisely on the lack of confidence in the leadership of President Marcos. This lack of confidence on Gen. Ver is based on the people's perception that his ticket to the highest military post is his close personal attachment to the President.

Compared to the record of Gen. Ramos, the acting chief of staff rose from his position by being a professional soldier. His upbringing and training at West Point accounts for his relatively selfless outlook on life and career. The recent pronouncement of Gen. Ramos that his loyalty is to the people and to the Constitution of the Republic and not to a single person sent the sagging morale of a disillusioned people soaring. It is the fervent hope of this

writer that Gen. Ramos make good his avowed reforms in the military using the services of career men (there are many good and young PMA'ers) in the armed forces.

Consolacion Mayor Emmanuel Pepito by his deeds is rightly paving the way for other local executives to follow. In an interview, he said that the only way to deter people from joining the communists and the New People's Army is the reduction of abuses by government authorities, prompt service to the people and a speedy and fair judicial system.

It is common knowledge that it is only in areas where there is breakdown of government services, justice system and abuses that insurgency flourishes.

CSO: 4200/283

## MR. &amp; MS. REPORTS QUESTIONS ON RAMOS' ROLE, SINCERITY

Makati MR. & MS. in English 16-22 Nov 84 p 34

[Article by Jose Ma. Nolasco : "Is Ramos Acting?"]

[Text]

**I**F he (President Marcos) placed me here ... I assume I have his confidence. But what I do not have is full authority."

Thus spoke Lt. Gen. Fidel V. Ramos at a press conference held Tuesday at the AFP General Headquarters in Camp Aguinaldo amid speculations that President Marcos is about ready to entrust the reins of government to a five-man, military-dominated junta led by Ramos himself.

It was Ramos' way of further squelching the rumored military takeover that is premised on still another rumor that President Marcos is leaving for the United States late this month to seek medical treatment. Hence, the need for a caretaker government.

Indeed, how can Ramos who is only the Acting AFP Chief of Staff assume the leadership of government — albeit, temporarily — when he himself does not have full command of the military guns?

Ramos again found himself in the center of controversy last Friday when Opposition MP Aquilino Pimentel Jr. exposed the alleged plan in his speech before Intramuros Rotarians. According to Pimentel, the junta plan enjoys

the backing of the U.S. government. Although Pimentel did not name the other four members of the junta, he said Ramos will share government responsibilities with two military officers and two other civilians. One of the civilians, he disclosed, will come from the Opposition.

"A canard ... a figment of someone's imagination," Ramos called Pimentel's report. The Acting AFP Chief of Staff disavowed any knowledge "of any such junta", the rumored existence of which, he added, "only serves to heighten the tension".

In his press conference, Ramos constantly referred to his "lack of authority from above". According to him, "only in an acting capacity" did he assume the post of AFP Chief of Staff from Gen. Fabian C. Ver who had to take leave upon being named by the Fact Finding Board as a co-conspirator in the Aquino assassination.

He cited the "constraints" imposed upon him in the exercise of his duties and powers as Acting AFP Chief of Staff. Upon Ramos' temporary appointment to his post, President Marcos as AFP Commander-in-Chief made it clear there will be "no change in basic

policies" of the military.

"Neither will there be change in the commanders and staff officers whom Gen. Ver had been working with," Ramos stressed.

Regarding policies, Ramos said they are "sound" although he felt necessary changes should be made because of the "dynamic situation".

On the AFP generals, he said he is "comfortable with them but I don't know if it's true the other way around". Queried on the internal rift within the command corps, Ramos replied: "No comment. But, don't forget we're stressing the unity of the Armed Forces of the Philippines."

He admitted no major restructuring in the military organization will be forthcoming in the immediate future. "We cannot tear down the structure and rebuild it according to our plan right away. Perhaps when that opportunity comes in the future, we will do it with full authority and there's no longer any problem about confidence."

Regarding the tour of duty of the so-called "overstaying" generals, Ramos said he doesn't have the last say on the issue. President Marcos does, he said, adding that quite a number of these generals were recently granted extensions on their military service. He cited as an example Maj. Gen. Prospero Olivas, one of those charged with complicity in the Aquino assassination. Olivas' tour of duty was supposed to expire on Nov. 30 this year; this was extended to another

six months.

Despite Ramos' assurances, however, speculations about the Marcos plan to put up a junta seem to die hard.

At the Batasang Pambansa, three Opposition MPs are calling for an "urgent and immediate" parliamentary investigation into the plan.

According to MPs Homobono A. Adaza, Orlando Mercado, and Demetrio Demetria, the charge of MP Pimentel is "serious" for the following reasons:

- There is a serious attempt to violate the Constitution.

- There is a plan to completely militarize the country.

- There is a serious effort of the United States government to openly and directly manipulate the government of the Philippines.

- The country will be plunged into a serious upheaval if the change is true and the plan to implement the same will be pursued.

In their resolution, the three Opposition MPs asserted that the denial of Gen. Ramos on the planned junta is serious "since it accuses a leading member of the Batasang Pambansa of lying and fabricating".

The resolution called for an inquiry into the charge of Pimentel and the denial of Ramos "to determine the truth, to protect the country and its people, and to adopt the necessary remedial legislation".

CEBU PAPER DEPLORES SUPPRESSION OF DISSENT

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 16 Nov 84 p 3

[Editorial: "The Suppression of Dissent"]

[Text] Two things seemingly unrelated as the recent strike and the brutal murder of Zamboanga City mayor Cesar Climaco bring to our minds the events in the past such as the Miranda bombing and the Aquino assassination.

The recent strike saw the deployment of truckloads of military men in full-battle gear to stop protesters marching only with placards and grievances to air.

On the other hand, the Climaco assassination silenced the fiery crusade of a man who was a staunch oppositionist and human rightist who tallied unsolved killings, robberies and kidnappings on a prominently displayed public bill board, blaming the soaring crime rates to the 'ineffectiveness of the law-enforcers.'

Both the strike-protesters and Mr. Climaco aired legitimate grievances through legitimate and legal means, which were met with force and suppression.

Climaco's status as an oppositionist fuels suspicion, though unsupported yet by evidence, that he was silenced by his political enemies.

The use of force against oppositionists contribute to public fears of violence as a means of quelling and suppressing dissent.

CSO: 4200/283



SUCCESS OF PC COUNTERINSURGENCY DIALOGUES REPORTED

Davao City PEOPLE'S DAILY FORUM in English 17 Nov 84 p 8

[Text] How effective are pulong-pulong or dialogues being conducted relentlessly by the PC/INP with the people as a counter-insurgency program?

Records of PC/INP RECOM 11 reveal that more than 80 per cent of the subversive terrorists who surrendered the past months--from November 1983 to early this month--did so because they were finally convinced of the sincerity of the government through pulong-pulong conducted in sitios and barangays by PC/INP authorities.

The rest, representing 20 per cent, surrendered through continuing advices of parents, relatives or concerned barangay and sitio leaders whose faith and confidence in the government have been likewise enhanced through pulong-pulong.

Continuing dialogues conducted by the Tugbok Police Station led to the surrender this week of four more subversive terrorists to the authorities.

The report of Col. Geronimo Valderrama, Commanding Officer of the Davao Metrodiscom to Brig. Gen. Dionisio S. Tan-Gatue, Jr., PC/INCP RECOM 11 Commander, identified the surrenderees as Fidel Cabanlit y Yuwas with NPA code name of Rico, 41, farmer and resident of Sitio San Roque, Culagsoy, Tugbok; Catalino Carbajal y Tamban, code-named Brendo, 41, farmer, resident of Tagpunan, Tugbok; Pedro Asobar y Corampao, code-named Mao, 62, farmer, resident of Sitio Biatiglisán, Tacunan; and Geronimo Carbajal y Tamban, code-named Choy, 52, farmer, resident of Sitio Brangansa, Brgy Tacunan, Tugbok.

The four admitted that they were tasked as "financial collectors of the NPA" in their respective sitios. They also revealed the names of two NPA Commanders operating in the barangays of Tugbok. They likewise manifested their willingness to cooperate with the authorities, particularly in weeding out subversive elements in their barangays and sitios.

CSO: 4200/283



LIST OF PARTIES, GROUPS IMPACTING ON CONTEMPORARY POLITICS

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 16, 17, 18 Nov 84

[Three-part article by Philippine News and Features: "PNF Data Monitor"]

[16 Nov 84 pp 2, 11]

[Text] The Philippines News and Features (PNF) has compiled a list of groups and forces actively influencing the direction of government and helping shape contemporary Philippine history. The group identified by PNF and supplied to Visayan Herald follows.

I. POLITICAL PARTIES

KBL--News Society Movement--Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos  
UNIDO--United Nationalist Democratic Organization (Former Senator  
Salvador "Doy" Laurel, chairman)

PDP-LABAN--Pilipino Democratic Party--Lakas ng Bayan (MP Aquilino  
Pimentel, chairman)

LP--Liberal Party (Former Philippine President Diosdado Macapagal, MP Eva  
Estrada Kalaw, leaders)

MA--Mindanao Alliance (MP Homobono Adaza, head)

NP-Laurel--Nationalista Party (Laurel Wing) (MP Jose B. Laurel, head)

NP-Roy--Nationalista Party (Former Senator Jose Roy, leader)

Bicol Saro

Federal Party (Philippine Statehood USA)

SDP--Social Democratic Party (Francisco "Kit" Tatad, leader)

NUL--National Union for Liberation

CDP--Christian Democratic Party (Raul Manglapus, head)

Kabataang Pilipino

II. SECTORAL AND MULTISECTORAL GROUPS AND ALLIANCES

CORD--Coalition of Organizations for the Realization of Democracy 400  
member organizations, 2,000,000 individual members. Former Senator Lorenzo  
Tanada, Mr. Agapito "Butz" Aquino

AMA--Alliance of Metropolitan Associations. Mr. Agapito "Butz" Aquino,  
Mr. Joey Lina

NAJFD--Nationalist Alliance for Justice Freedom and Democracy. Former Senator Lorenzo Tanada, Mr. Teofisto Guingona. Mr. Abraham Sarmiento, Fr. Jose "Joe" Dizon

JAJA--Justice for Aquino Justice for All. Mr. Butz Aquino, Fr. Art Balagat

NAMFREL--National Citizens Movement for Free Elections Mr. Jose S. Concepcion, Jr. and Bishop Antonio Y. Fortich, D. D. National Chairmen. 80 member organizations (civic, lay, religious and professional organizations)

ATOM--August Twenty-One Movement  
Mr. Butz Aquino

NFPC--Nuclear Free Philippines Coalition

ABC--Anti Bases Coalition Former Senator Jose W. Diokno

KAABAY--Movement for Philippine Sovereignty Democracy Former Senator Jose W. Diokno, chairman

MAD--Men's Alliance for Democracy

SAPAK--Samahan Tungo sa Pananamnatava at Katarungan

SALAKAY--Samahan ng Lahi para sa Kalayaan

#### Labor

PKMK--Pambansang Koalisyon ng Manggagawa Laban sa Kahirapan (National Coalition of Workers Against Poverty) 40 National Unions, Federations and Workers Alliances 800,000-1,000,000 individual members. Atty. Rolando Olalia and Mr. Bonifacio Tupaz, chairmen

KMU--Kilusang Mayo Uno (May First Movement) 500,000 members. Atty. Rolando Olalia chairman

KMK--Kilusan ng Manggagawang Kababaihan (Movement of Women Workers)

[17 Nov 84 pp 2, 8]

[Text] Cause Oriented Philippine Groups and Leading Personalities

#### YOUTH and STUDENTS

MAKABAYAN--Mag-aaral at Kabataan Para sa Kalayaan ng Bayan.

LFS--League of Filipino Students. Mr. Elmer Mercado, chairman; Ms. Liza Pulgado, vice-chairman

CEGP--College Editors' Guild of the Philippines, Inc. 200 member school publications, Mr. Clemente Bacani, national president

NUSP--National Union of Students of the Philippines

SCMP--Student Christian Movement of the Philippines

#### WOMEN

GABRIELA--General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action

WOMB--Women for the Ouster of Marcos and Boycott. Ms. Gloria Macapagal Arroyo

CWP--Concerned Women of the Philippines

AWARE--Alliance of Women for Action Towards Reconciliation

SAMAKANA--Samahan ng Mga Kababaihang Nagkaka'sa

## HEALTH

MAG--Medical Action Group Dr. Sylvia Dela Paz  
HEAD--Health Alliance for Democracy

## CULTURAL

CAP--Concerned Artists of the Philippines  
ALAMAT--Alyansa ng Makabayang Teatro ng Kabataan  
PETA--Philippine Educational Theatre Association

## PROFESSIONALS

ACT--Alliance of Concerned Teachers. Ms. Loreta Ann Rosales, chairperson  
MABINI--Movement of Attorneys for Brotherhood, Integrity and Nationalism,  
Inc. Atty Ed Araullo, chairman, Atty Rene Saguisag  
BONIFACIO--Brotherhood of Nationalistic, Involved and Free Attorneys to  
Combat Injustice and Oppression. Atty. Frank Chavez, chairman  
FLAG--Free Legal Assistance Group. Atty. Jcker Arroyo  
SPADE--Society of Professionals for the Advancement of Democracy

## URBAN POOR

ALMASID--Alyansa ng Maralitang Tagalunsod

## CONSUMERS

CACP--Citizens Alliance for Consumers Protection Prof. Raul Segovia,  
secretary-general

## OTHERS

KAPATID--Kapisanan Para sa Pagpapalaya at Amenstiya ng mga Detenido sa  
Pilipinas (Family and Friends of Political Detainees) Dean Armando J. Malay,  
chairman

[18 Nov 84 pp 2, 8]

[Text] Cause Oriented Philippine Groups and Leading Personalities

## III. ORGANIZATIONS OF BUSINESSMEN

BBC--Bishop's-Businessmen's Conference. Bishop Cirilo Almario and Mr.  
Vicente Jayme, chairmen  
MBC--Makati Business Club Mr. Jaime Zobel  
PCCI--Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry  
PBC--Philippine Businessmen's Conference

## IV CHURCH AND CHURCH-RELATED GROUPS

CBCP--Catholic Bishop's Conference of the Philippines, Archbishop Antonio  
Mabutas

NCCP--National Council of Churches in the Philippines  
 AMRSP--Association of Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines  
 PCPR--Promotion for Church People's Rights/Response  
 NASSA--National Secretariat for Social Action  
 LUSSA--Luzon Secretariat for Social Action  
 VISSA--Visayas Secretariat for Social Action  
 MISSA--Mindanao Secretariat for Social Action  
 TFDP--Task Force Detainees of the Philippines Sr. Mariani Dimaranan  
 EMJP--Ecumenical Movement for Justice and Peace  
 SCAPS--Share and Care Apostolate for Poor Settlers

#### V. UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

CPP--Communist Party of the Philippines (30,000 members--estimate)  
 NPA--New People's Army 20,000 fulltime and part time guerrillas  
 (estimate)  
 NDF--National Democratic Front  
 CNL--Christians for National Liberation  
 KM--Kabataang Makabayan Makabayang Samahang Pangkalusugan  
 Katipunan ng Gurong Makabayan  
 Political Parties (anonymous)  
 PKP--Partido Komunista Pilipinas (surrendered, became legal 1973)  
 HMB--Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan  
 PLM--People's Liberation Movement  
 GA--Gerilya Anakpawis sa Kalunsuran  
 NPSDP--Nagkakaisang Partido Sosyalista Demokratiko ng Pilipinas  
 Sandigan  
 MLG--Marxist Leninist Group  
 Light-a-Fire Movement  
 April Six Movement  
 MNLF--Moro National Liberation Front  
 BMLO--Bangsa Moro Liberation Organization  
 MORO--Moro Revolutionary Organization  
 RSL--Revolutionary Socialist League

CSO: 4200/283

RUC XI'S GENERAL ECHEVERRIA PROFILED

Davao City PEOPLE'S DAILY FORUM in English 18 Nov 84 pp 1, 6

[Text] It hasn't changed one bit.

In a roomful of military officers and men, he stands out--ramrod straight, prescription haircut, clean looks, uniform tucked in at the right places, fine manners and speech.

Almost like a movie rerun.

A solid year after he took over as commanding general of the Regional Unified Command (RUC) in southern Mindanao, Brig. Gen. Jaime "Jimmy" C. Echeverria still insists on soldier discipline and morale on top of his priority list.

And professionalism, he adds.

It's always been that way, this being a stickler for discipline, high morale and professionalism, since he joined the Philippine Military Academy (PMA) in April 1953.

Since then he had had several stints as an army officer--with the 4th PC zone in Mindanao soon after graduation, with the 3rd PC zone in the Visayas in 1964 and, for two years between 1966 and 1968, in the Vietnam War.

In 1970 he joined the PC Metrocom in Manila and, three years later, looked south once more. For ten years--in Jolo, Sulu--he went "seaborne."

General Echeverria became Rajah Laut (sealord) to his Muslim friends and "Mr. Seaborne" to the Christian community there.

When he took over the RUC XI ~~command~~ from Brig. Gen. Felix A. Brawner in November 17 last year, the junior officers and men knew they would have to be on their toes every waking hour, in or outside camp.

They still are. General Echeverria may not admit it himself but he is a disciplinarian, although one of the officers at the Panacan camp says he's just being fathrely. He once chided a CAT student guarding the gate of a Catholic school the general visited in Kapalong recently. He had his full uniform on

but the hapless young boy forgot his prescription cap. General Echeverria gave him a dressing down: "Why aren't you wearing your cap when your general is wearing his?"

That one surprise visit left the students starstruck. Awed upon seeing a general in the flesh for the first time, they were dumbfounded when they were told that "their general" also speaks fluent Spanish, English, Vietnamese, Chinese, Cebuano, Bicolano, Pilipino and Chabacano.

Before Echeverria could settle down at the old RUC headquarters in Panacan (it had since moved to a new building inside the camp), he was off on a chopper to Baganga, Davao Oriental, personally supervising military operations against subversives terrorizing villagers there.

His presence must have come in too strong, for the men fought harder than usual, successfully driving the enemy beyond its sanctuary on the Banganga-Cateel frontier.

Days later, he had his first "tangle" with private media practitioners in the city. Behind that hard, military look the media men found vast reservoirs of human understanding and common sense. General Echeverria kept close touch with the issues under a barrage of searing questions, wrapping it up by asking the press men to "slow down on the publicity of soldier misdeeds."

Not that his command was about to impose a news blackout, he argued, but he found that most media men were prone to magnify isolated military abuses at the expense of soldiers who were doing good.

General Echeverria can be sensitive. Reacting sharply to a deluge of "salvaging" news stories, he lamented the fact that there was never a single confirmation that a military was involved.

Decidedly, he is firm. When claim-owner and gold-panners in Davao Province reported that some soldiers were getting their hands into the precious metal, he immediately warned the soldiers to leave the gold panners alone. Echeverria knew the soldiers survived on measly pay but it didn't follow that they would get into the business themselves.

Most media men confess they find General Echeverria "good copy," not because he had once told them his first press conference showed the way for more healthy dialogues between the military and the media. It can best be said by one radioman who remarked: "A general is a general, but here's one who doesn't smoke, drink nor gamble and a very religious man. Why, he doesn't even miss a good jog each morning."

Today--after 31 years in the service and 365 days in the command--General Echeverria still believes in the basic formula for a lasting peace: a disciplined and professional soldier, a concerned and involved citizen, and a responsive civil servant.

It hasn't changed one bit.

CSO: 4200/283

COLUMNIST REPORTS NARVASA-MARCOS EXCHANGE; LAUDS CLIMACO

Makati MR. & MS. in English 23-29 Nov 84 pp 36-38

["The Last Word: by Maximo V. Soliven: "Is the 'One-Gun Salute' in the Head Now the Trademark of the New Society?"]

[Excerpts]

**M**Y heart leaped up at the forthrightness of Dean Andres Narvasa's candid reply to President Marcos. Narvasa was neither defiant nor disrespectful — but he was firm. He firmly declared that the Tanodbayan should be capable of doing its own job without trying to dragoon the members and legal panelists of the defunct Agrava Fact-Finding Board into doing the work of the courts.

Narvasa's retort to the Chief Executive's "appointment" (translation: order) deserves repetition. He said: "I will yield to no one in the determination of what is necessary for me to do in the service of my country.

"I do not answer to you or any man but to my own conscience and to God."

It has been a long time since anybody in this so-called New Republic talked back to the President in this manner. The Apo, I'm afraid, has forgotten the first thing about democracy — whether Philippine style, Oriental style, or Western style. As his title implies, he "presides" but does not rule. He is "primus inter pares" (first among equals), true enough, but his mission is to serve, not boss everybody around. Public service (has it already been forgotten?) is a public trust, and those who work in the government are there in the service of the people.

**N**ARVASA addressed the President as an equal. As they both should be — if they are free citizens in a free Republic.

I remember that poignant moment in which — hardly a day after President John F. Kennedy was buried in 1963 —



Former Justice Corazon Juliano Agrava and one of the legal panelists, former Pasay Police Chief Faquito Villa, on the other hand, accepted the President's "appointment" to assist in the prosecution of those recommended for indictment in the Aquino slaying with alacrity. But Agrava, in her dissenting minority report, has already defended the innocence of Gen. Fabian C. Ver. So we know where she stands.

**I**S a bullet in the back of the head, a One-Gun Salute, becoming the hallmark of the New Society? If so, the so-called "New Filipino" is becoming the "Scared Filipino." I wish people would stop spreading those nasty and often unfounded rumors that the President is very sick, is in a coma, has been "rushed to the hospital", or is already in flight to the U.S. for an operation. Everytime this happens, Manilans have been overheard to quip — uneasily — in the coffee shops, somebody gets shot in the head.

Cesar C. Climaco was a man who scorned death as just another hazard of office. In the old days, he would go rocketing all over Zamboanga City in the dead of night, patrolling the streets in his battered jeep (which he drove himself). In recent years, he traded his jeep for a noisy motorcycle, astride which he used to zoom all over the dusty, rutted or muddy country roads. Kids would rush out to the road when they heard the racket of his bike, because he always kept his saddlebags packed with candy, and he would fling big handfuls of these sweets to the children as he whizzed by.

Climaco never believed in bodyguards. I asked him why he didn't carry a gun either. "When those sonofabitches get you," he would reply with his characteristic broken-toothed grin, "they'll get you in the back anyway. You'll never get a chance to shoot back."

His words were prophetic. He didn't even get a look at the sonofabitch who shot him. It was a set up. It had all the earmarks of a planned assassination. What will they finally be saying who shot Climaco? The Communists? Galman is dead and buried. The Muslims?

**A** LOT of persons had good reason to hate the irrepressible Cesar — because a great many people cannot abide an honest and tough mayor. Even some members of the military could be said to bear a grudge. Climaco kept a wide



*billboard in front of City Hall — proclaiming to all the world a running total of the crimes which the military and the police had failed to solve. He was offensive in manner, too often, because he looked you in the eye and told you the truth — even the awful truth about yourself.*

*He was a brave man, fighting for justice, assailing evil with vim, vigor and epigrams. He used to say, years ago, that he didn't smoke, he didn't drink, and he didn't dance. But, he sheepishly admitted, at times he would swear — and swear mightily. By the time this appears, a million words will have been said by a host of others about Cesar — in print, on radio and on television. He was that kind of man: courageous and colorful. You might love him. You might detest him. But you couldn't ignore him.*

*During the Crisologo "wars" in Ilocos Sur, I was told that the warlords in Vigan had placed a "murder contract" on my head. When I mentioned this to Cesar, he laughed, and said: "Why worry? Do you want to live forever?"*

*Nobody lives forever, I agreed with him. But Cesar and I were both wrong. Cesar Climaco — to his embarrassment, wherever he is — will live forever in our hearts.*

## NAJFD'S PADILLA ON PLAN FOR COALITION GOVERNMENT

Quezon City VERITAS in English 25 Nov 84 pp 6, 7

["Excerpts" of an interview with Alexander Padilla, Secretary-general of the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy, by Philippine News and Features: "The Coalition Gov't is Already Being Built Today"]

[Text] *(Excerpts of interview conducted by the PNF with Alexander Padilla, secretary-general of the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy (NAJFD) on its program for a coalition government)*

**PHILIPPINE NEWS AND FEATURES (PNF):** The opposition says it will launch a program for a "democratic coalition government" on November 16. Can you explain briefly what this is all about?

**ALEX PADILLA (AP):** Well, the program for a democratic coalition government to be launched on November 16 is not really the opposition's in general. It is the Nationalist Alliance's program, from an assembly of the NA. Our program for a democratic coalition government has been ratified as early as November 1983. But that program was too general, calling for the dismantling of the US-Marcos dictatorship and the establishment of a democratic coalition government — no details. So in this assembly (Nov. 14 to 16), we shall come up with the concrete and detailed concept, nature and characteristics of the coalition government.

**PNF:** What is the role of the protest movement in setting up that coalition government?

**AP:** It has a very big role. The coalition is not something that you implant after dismantling the dictatorship. In other words, even today, the bases of the coalition government are already being built and these are composed mainly of organizations or protest organizations as well as their alliances. Meaning to say, we have been

consolidating and organizing different sectors. For example, the workers, being organized and consolidated into the KMU (May First Movement, a militant labor federation) and the broader coalition of the PKMK (National Workers' Alliance Against Poverty). They have been educating their ranks. They have been trying to come up with a program based on their class interests and aspirations. So, once we have set up the coalition government, there are already representatives of workers to consult: the true representatives of workers, meaning to say the KMU or the PKMK. So the bases for a coalition government are already being started through a series of protest actions by a whole range of people's organizations being formed. These people's organizations will last. They will continue to exist even after the regime is dismantled, and they shall form the base of the coalition government.

**PNF:** Who will compose the coalition government and what will be their respective roles?

**AP:** At this point it's difficult to put a specific number as well as the identities of persons who will comprise the coalition government. However, its composition will depend on a lot of things. It will depend on the sectors involved, the classes, political parties, organizations and alliances representing those who have been most oppressed and exploited in Philippine society. Now, the tasks of this coalition will also vary, so their role in the dismantling of the dictatorship will form the basis for membership in the coalition government. The

minimum criterion is that they should have been nationalist and democratic all throughout. They should have a clear position on the issue of imperialism – they should be opposed to it. They must have clear positions regarding the exploitation of workers, the plight of the peasants, the role of foreign investments, etc.

CSO: 4200/268

OPPOSITION'S CANOY ON COMMUNIST FEARS

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 30 Nov 84 pp 1, 18

[Text] Former Assemblyman Reuben R. Canoy warned yesterday that unless the government takes drastic steps to restore peace and order in Mindanao and undertake its total development, the "island may fall to the communists in five years or less."

Canoy, who was formerly the chairman of the Southern Philippines Development Authority and mayor of Cagayan de Oro City, issued the warning yesterday as he stressed that a normalized Mindanao "would not only prevent a communist take-over but also lead to the solution of many problems now confronting the nation."

Canoy noted the presence of two revolutionary forces--the communist New People's Army and the secessionist Muslim National Liberation Front--as well as the Lost Command, bandit and pirate groups, and private armies maintained by powerful politico-economic interests with large timber, mineral, and land holdings.

Canoy said that the military is no longer able to control the situation and is in fact fighting a losing war against organized crime and insurgency mainly because of lack of mass support.

Expressing concern over the growing strength of the NPA, Canoy said that the NPA has acquired more recruits and firepower to be able to overrun military camps and occupy large towns.

He stated that as a result of widened military and rebel operations, Mindanao farms have been abandoned and this could seriously endanger the nation's food supply and disrupt the economic recovery program.

Canoy attributed the NPA gains in Mindanao to the following:

1. Breakdown of government credibility and morality.
2. Military abuses.
3. The economic crisis.

4. Paralyzation of local governments.

5. Failure of the opposition to serve as a real political alternative to the Marcos government.

Canoy proposed the creation of a Mindanao commission to be composed of respectable and credible political, business, church, military and other sectoral leaders, with full powers to coordinate and direct the peace and development efforts in the south.

He explained that over-centralization of government decisions, program planning, and implementation--has contributed to bureaucratic inaction and the perpetration of injustices by civilian and military officials who feel that they do not have local responsibilities.

CSO: 4200/268

CARDINAL SIN ON UNRELIABILITY OF GOVERNMENT

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 1 Dec 84 p 2

[Text] "The Philippine government's reputation for telling the truth is the worst imaginable," Manila Archbishop Jaime Cardinal Sin told a group of advertising men recently at the Manila Garden Hotel in the course of a talk on Manila rumors that President was seriously ill.

The state of President Ferdinand Marcos' health is being speculated upon by everyone because Malacanang Palace has been very secretive about the subject matter, said Sin.

Manila rumors had it that the President had a kidney transplant that he had suffered cardiac arrest and that he had been transferred from the Kidney Foundation of the Philippines to the fourth floor of the Heart Center for intensive cardiac treatment.

Sin added that according to these rumors, the President had been taken by a helicopter from the Heart Center to the Presidential yacht.

But Sin said there were reports that he had been brought to a hospital ship of the United States Navy, and still another which said that the President had been taken to Clark Field Airbase from where he was transported to Stanford, United States for treatment.

"There were even worse stories saying that the President was dead; that the news of his death was purposely being withheld to enable those who want to seize power to consolidate their forces; that the news will not be announced until those who are in control are good and ready," Sin said.

The Cardinal said the denial by the Malacanang (Presidential Palace) Press Secretary, Amante Bigornia, that the President was sick and the statement of Marcos himself assuring everyone that he is alive had been released "to enhance the impression that all was well," adding that the appearance of the First Lady, Mrs. Imelda Marcos before a group of journalists at the 365 Club at Manila's Intercontinental Hotel made the crony press logically ask, how could she have spent two hours at the hotel if her husband were sick?

"But none of these things made the people change their preconceived notions. To put it more bluntly, the people just did not believe what the Palace announced. They placed no stock in what Mrs. Marcos did, calling it nothing but a public relations ploy," Sind said.

The Cardinal suggested that if the President had undergone an operation and is recuperating, "all it would take (to stop the rumor mill) would be for one of his doctors to issue a medical bulletin informing the public about his progress."

"The administration is suffering from a serious credibility problem," said Sn, who concluded that the "people simply do not believe" the statement coming from Malacanang Palace.

Sin cited a few examples of how the government had been "guilty of flagrant lies" even in the past.

"Last year, a few days before Benigno Aquino was assassinated, Marcos announced that he would be in seclusion to write his two books. But the public believed otherwise: he was going to disappear because he would have a kidney operation," Sin concluded.

The day after Aquino was assassinated the President appeared on television. "He was pale, his left arm immobile. He looked (as if he had) just survived a major operation," said Sin.

Sin reminded his audience that "our mass media have been stretching the truth in a variety of ways: by printing stories that they know to be unmitigated lies, or by consciously allowing themselves to be used as instruments of deception, to mislead the public into believing what is obviously untrue."

CSO: 4200/283

# OPPOSITION DISUNITY HINDERS PREPARATION FOR SUCCESSION

## Marcos Illness Raises Issue

Quezon City VERITAS in English 2 Dec 84 p 6

[Article by Jimmy Vincente: "Is the Opposition Self-Destructing?"]

[Text]

**I**F President Marcos were to disappear from the scene permanently — and this is not too far-fetched a possibility considering the events of the past two weeks — is the Opposition as it is now, fragmented and polarized, in any position to cope with the situation?

The answer has to be no.

In all its previous attempts to fashion our adequate responses to political situations, it has shown a lamentable tendency to self-destruct.

Events are fast overtaking it. With the very survival of a viable society, perhaps, hanging in the balance, Opposition leadership remains an organism of many bodies, many minds, and many ambitions.

For a long time now, the situation in general has been calling for Opposition unity, and up to now, the Opposition is everything else but united. And to all appearances, it is even getting worse.

The last major moderate opposition "happening" last October 7, (this is being written before the November 27 affair) more or less, illustrates the unfortunate situation accurately.

The demonstration was developed with a good purpose. Its ranks, as well as its significance, swelled with a call from His

Eminence, Jaime L. Cardinal Sin. It was successful both in purpose and manner. It also ended up in greater disunity among Opposition leaders belonging to the movements and the political parties.

The demonstration was planned for a limited purpose: to protest repression in general, to be sure, but, in particular, to focus sentiments against the official violence that attended the September 21 and September 28 Mendiola confrontations.

When Cardinal Sin called for businessman and professionals to join the students and workingmen in the "parliament of the streets," he expanded the significance of the event, and, more than likely, inspired restraint on the part of a government grown paranoid.

Whatever his deeper motives, if any, Cardinal Sin's move drove home the need for national unity at the grassroots level — the kind of unity that constitutes the only answer to the problem of, ultimately, replacing a discredited but still powerful and ruthless regime.

In fact, this was what panicked Marcos.

The Cardinal's move was also the exact prescription for a larger and more immediate



problem: intensifying polarization to political extremes and sharpening confrontations.

**T**HERE was, and is, an obvious need to stir up the centrist, middle-of-the-road, sectors into more militant, active and more visible participation in political activities in order to stabilize an increasingly volatile environment.

It took a man of the cloth to discharge a responsibility that properly belonged to moderate political leaders whose centrist philosophy reflects that of a great majority of citizens in the country as borne out by the voter turnout during the last Batasan elections.

Well, President Marcos can lean back and relax. Nobody seems to have taken a cue from Cardinal Sin among the moderate Opposition leadership. So much for maximum protest march effectiveness. So much for the larger cause of political stability.

In any case, it is highly doubtful whether an attempt was made, at all, by all opposition leaders, both civic and political, to get together for purposes of joint planning, if only in response to the call of Cardinal Sin.

Leaders of movements clearly maintained control of the task, and promptly excluded the Laurels and the Kalaws, on what some consider as a lame excuse that "they might be booted."

To be sure, these leaders were "booted" during that mass rally at the Luneta to commemorate the first death anniversary of Ninoy Aquino, but they attributed it to followers of movement leaders, exacerbating further what is widely considered as an "uneasy" relationship, to begin with.

**A**T the highest levels, there is no problem getting all stripes of Opposition leaders together to pledge unity and, even, sign "covenants," but something always seems to happen on the way, literally, to the forum.

With the assassination of Ninoy Aquino, the whole nation rose as one in painful anguish and

strident protest against a dastardly act that reflected all that was wrong with the government. All opposition promptly made all the correct sounds.

But hardly had the cry "Justice for Aquino - Marcos Resign!" intensified than it turn into "Down with US Imperialism - Marcos Resign!," "Down with the US-Marcos Dictatorship," etc.

Disunity appeared and that unification move called "KOMPIL" came into being, complete with a "covenant." It promptly evaporated, along with its "covenant," merely at the proximity of the May elections.

Dominant election issues were the legitimacy of the government, the 1973 constitution, succession, violation of human rights, economic problems, etc. The assassination that shakes the foundations of the nation to this day, became just one of them.

Opposition leadership promptly saw itself divided into the "boycott" and "participation" camps; with the latter, further, coming apart as "participation-with-conditions" and "participation-without-conditions" groups. As though this were not enough, adherents of participation also ended up bickering on the question of "dominant political party" status, with no little encouragement from the administration.

**L**EADERS of both main opposition sectors - civic and political - have their individual virtues, their lofty motives. - But some can also be faulted with inordinate ambition, exaggerated sense of self-importance, some degree of timidity, inadequate perception and other weaknesses.

But all of them, at one point or another, became unwary victims of Marcos' covert "divide-and-rule" maneuvers, and clever diversionary and "issue-substitution" propaganda tactics.

All these sad experiences in the opposition leadership sectors generated antagonisms among them that persist to this day. And that October 7 event did not help any.

Ninoy's dream of opposition

unity appears to be slipping through the nation's fingers. So is the dream that he shared with Cardinal Sin and the rest of the people: political change through non-violent, peaceful processes.

After that second España Welcome rotunda demonstration some criticisms cropped up against movement leaders, as well as some derisive comments against businessmen and professionals who came out.

Some people even made much of that pre-demonstration homily of Cardinal Sin as being "timid," as though the good Cardinal has not done enough yet. They completely missed the point.

But many people appear to keep missing an even more critical point: we are all in the same bus, quarrelling among ourselves, while the mad driver may well be heading for the cliff.

#### Short Time Factor Cited

Quezon City VERITAS in English 2 Dec 84 pp 6, 14

[Article by Teodoro M. Locsin: "A Very Short Time to Put Its Act Together"]

[Text]

**T**HE Opposition is acting on the assumption that it has until 1986 to put its act together. It hopes then to agree on a single set of candidates for mayors and governors in the local polls. Meanwhile, it will go on trying to destabilize the Marcos dictatorship through mass demonstrations and exposés of its crimes, past and present, against the Filipino people. When the 1986 elections come around, the opposition candidates should readily win. With the people suffering from increasingly high prices and hundreds of thousands being thrown out of work as businesses and factories are closed and the regime continuing to rip off the economy, how many will vote for the candidates of a dictatorship that has brought so much suffering to the nation? You will need to have your head examined if you will still vote for the villains. After the 1986 win, with the Opposition in political command of most of the provinces and towns, winning the 1987 presidential polls should be not merely a possibility but a probability. Unless, of course, there is mass fraud and terrorism, in which case the regime's victory will be a hollow one. It should find it more difficult than ever, if not impossible, to persuade its hundreds of foreign creditors to go on lending

more and more of their depositors' money to a financially and politically bankrupt regime.

But what if Marcos drops dead in a couple of weeks or months? He is reported to be very sick. "Buhay pa," said a cabinet minister last week. Not just "buhay" but with "pa." Going, going, but not yet gone. Not yet gone, but going. True, his doctor said he was merely suffering from flu. So, he's gonna live: he'll bury the Opposition leaders yet. But it is elementary political wisdom for the Opposition to operate on the basis of the worst scenario, and be ready to meet whatever it brings. And if Marcos dies soon, the Opposition as it is constituted at present will be caught flatfooted.

**I**NSTEAD of having until 1986 to get together and otherwise prepare to meet the regime in an electoral contest, the Opposition will have only 60 days for campaigning. The election will be for President, and if the Opposition cannot reach agreement in the little time available, there will be more than one Opposition candidate for the office, and whatever funds may be contributed for the Opposition will have to be divided among its candidates. Divided by ideological differences and the ambitions of individual leaders, getting the Opposition to unite

under the leadership of one should take some time, and how much time would be left of the 60 days for campaigning? Worst of all, what has held the Opposition together (although it has not made it one, that is, a single political party) is the anti-Marcos sentiment. All oppositionists are in agreement, while each does his own thing, that Marcos must go. But what if Marcos goes — next month, say? The hate-Marcos bonding agent will be gone with him.

And the Opposition will have only 60 days to unite, agree on a single presidential candidate and get the logistics for a campaign against the candidate of the party in power, still in power after Marcos, meaning the KBL, with the billions the Central Bank may well make available for buying votes, not to mention a Commission on Elections that is widely believed incapable of counting votes correctly. What would be the prospects of the Opposition presidential candidate winning under such conditions, even assuming that there is only one, and assuming further that the Opposition is not split between taking part in the election or boycotting it? The nationalist-radical left group may decide to do a repeat of its 1984 act.

Cory Aquino has spoken on the evils of monolithic leadership, the suffering it has brought the nation, and for encouraging diversity of political views leading to a democratic consensus. Let each idea or program be tested in free debate. One should keep an open mind, but if the mind remains open and comes to no conclusion, it is no mind at all but a sieve, holding nothing. Now is the time for all good men in the Opposition to come to the aid of their country by laying aside their differing views on this and that political or economic subject and concentrate on getting together, and doing it fast, so they would be ready when they would have only 60 days to prevent a political succession that would only repeat the horrors of the departed regime. If they let individual ambitions or plain stupidity keep them from doing what must be done, from doing first things first, they will deserve the inevitable defeat that will follow their continued division and unpreparedness. The country will owe them, as it continues to suffer under a Marcos-like regime, not a damn thing. They will have, wittingly or unwittingly, contributed to a succession that will be a mirror image of what preceded it. They will be truly enemies of the people.

# FURTHER DETAILS ON NEW OPPOSITION UNITY PLANS

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 7 Dec 84 pp 1, 18

[Article by Vicente B. Foz]

[Text]

The opposition in the Batasang Pambansa proposed yesterday a plan for unifying opposition groups with the ultimate objective of dismantling the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL) administration.

Initiated by Member of Parliament Luis R. Villafuerte (Unido, Camarines Sur), the opposition manifesto called for the establishment of a national unification committee representing all opposition parties and for the start of unification efforts at the provincial and city levels where a core of dominant leaders must be recognized.

Other features of the unity plan include the selection of the opposition presidential and vice-presidential standard bearers through a national convention, and arriving at a consensus to reconcile the varied political, social and economic reforms of opposition groups into a common alternative program of government.

"We believe," the opposition Batasan member stressed, "that

the time to act in earnest is now and all must subordinate their personal political ambitions to the greater cause of the opposition to dismantle the authoritarian administration of President Marcos."

The parliamentary opposition was reacting to the efforts of a convener group to select the opposition presidential and vice-presidential standard bearers in anticipation of a "sudden presidential election," or what is called "the fast track," before the scheduled presidential election in 1987.

The convener group has been discussing with probable standard bearers a proposed procedure for selecting the common candidates. The group is composed of Mrs. Cory C. Aquino, widow of assassinated opposition leader Benigno S. Aquino Jr., former Sen. Lorenzo M. Tañada and businessman Jaime Ongpin.

"In the spirit of reconciliation," the Batasan opposition said, "we welcome those in the boycott movement to join us now, but they must recognize that in spite of them, we won in

many areas of the country and they must accept the reality that the overwhelming majority of our people are for peaceful change through participation in the electoral process."

Protest rallies and marches are potent tools to impress upon the government the people's grievances and the "parliament of the streets" can strengthen the role of the members of the Batasan, the opposition manifesto said.

But, it stressed, "rallies and marches by themselves could not win elections and, therefore, other pressure points must be pursued, through collaborative efforts of all opposition groups."

To qualify as the core of opposition leaders in specific constituencies, the Batasan opposition said, the group must show that it has put together an organization at the municipal, barangay and precinct levels.

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The consolidation of all opposition efforts to achieve reform "for the restoration of true freedom and democracy" was stressed by MP Eva Estrada Kalaw in an overseas telephone call yesterday from Los Angeles, California.

Kalaw, who is rounding off a series of speaking engagements in the United States, endorsed the stand taken by the opposition led by minority floor leader Jose B. Laurel Jr. on the issue of succession, adding that "the Batasan must indeed postpone its year-end recess to enact a law on presidential succession."

## ARTICLE EXAMINES KKK FAILURE

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 4 Dec 84 pp 3, 6

[Text]

The failure of the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran (KKK), the government's national livelihood program, was due not so much on the latter's underlying philosophy or concept but more on the people behind it and their implementing strategy.

This assessment was made by V. L. Sonny Domingo, a leading businessman and founding chairman of the Kapisanan ng Magsasaka, Mangingisda at Manggagawa sa Pilipinas (KMMMP).

Domingo said in a recent symposium that unlike Masagana 99 which was conceptualized to benefit the multinationals in selling their fertilizers and pesticides using government funds and passing on the debt burden to the farmers, the KKK was designed to benefit small entrepreneurs and the small farmers, workers, fishermen and other productive economic sectors.

"Along the way, however, this entrepreneurial approach to a developmental effort for the countryside vis-a-vis the industrialization efforts in the urban areas got lost in the rhetorics of the Ministry of Human Settlements which implemented it," Domingo said.

He said it all started with the construction of Provincial Action Centers (PAC) in all provinces with Vigan-type buildings that "may look big from the outside but is actually hollow in the inside."

The seemingly impressive structures proved useless in serving the needs of small entrepreneurs because they were left out in favor of the small farmers, fishermen or workers' associations which got the money but did not make prudent use of it, he added.

"While they are under the supervision of MHS personnel and those from other supporting agencies, the people involved in the program lacked business sense to ensure the success of the project," Domingo claimed.

The greatest error, however, was President Marcos' declaration that gave the

mayors and other local government officials the task of identifying viable projects and their beneficiaries, he revealed.

"What then started as an entrepreneurial fund became a pork barrel fund, and as in all pork barrel funds, the KKK funds became easy targets for those close to the powers-that-be," Domingo said.

He pointed out that probably the only successful KKK project is the fruit processing center in Pangasinan which is controlled not by small but big entrepreneurs.

"All other projects have failed and could not pay the interest on the loans, whatever is paid back now hardly comes from the earnings of the projects," he added.

Domingo noted that at this stage, the KKK program has failed to realize its objectives with only 50 per

cent of the loans given out are actually repaid.

Lendings were thus totally stopped while participants eagerly waited for release of new funds.

Reports have it that some KKK funds running to millions of pesos have no more hope for recovery while persons found to have a hand in the fund mismanagement are facing prosecution charges.

Domingo, however, said this will not right the wrong already done.

He said that at the moment, the program's implementors are at a loss whether to continue with the old scheme or revert to the new program called Sari-ling Sikap, the government's program for national self-reliance and self-sufficiency.

According to Domingo, the Sari-ling Sikap could be nothing but a new name for an old horse, the chances of



winning the race of which remains dubious.

He said the new scheme will again fail because "not only is it the same horse with a new name but also it has the same rider whose horsemanship is terrible."

On the new scheme, Domingo gave certain pointers on how to make it a viable and more importantly, a "winning horse."

What should be done is to select entrepreneurs who are interested in forest farming to plant the most appropriate tree in their assigned plantations and provide them the funding required, complete with a marketing tie-up, he said.

This way, he said, free enterprise will be promoted in the development of the country's marginal lands, thus taking the risks off the back of the government.

It should instead provide the basic services to the people and promote equal opportunity in the development of the country's natural resources.

"It should not engage in trade, manufacturing and money placement and other entrepreneurial activities that compete directly with the private sector but should only provide the ideal business climate, infrastructure projects and possibly, long-term credits for development projects," Domingo advised.

He said, "The moment the government competes and legislates to favor itself, it ceases to be a good government."



RADIO VERITAS DISCUSSION ON GOVERNMENT CREDIBILITY

HK240508 Manila Radio Veritas in Tagalog 0900 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Discussion in Tagalog and English among three unidentified persons]

[Text] [First person] Let's talk about our problems with the government. It is a real struggle. If we don't change, nothing will happen. No one goes to the root of our problems. People are always trying to cure what is manifest. But we never get to the root of our problems. The solution is very simple. The government should tell the people where the money they have comes from. If they have 10, 50, 100 million, the people should be told. None of that talk about the welfare of the people--the money goes into the wrong pockets anyway. Until they show their honesty, people will not believe the government. If people do not believe, where will they go? The government simply has no credibility.

[Second person] It's not that we're inciting people not to believe in the government--we know nobody believes them. Even the police do not believe in the law because they know the top people themselves break the law.

[Third person] Those people in Malacanang, those close to Malacanang, they're the only ones who are having a merry Christmas. They are the ones with the money, even though most people are suffering. It's a good thing at least Radio Veritas distributes things to the needy. But there are too many people who are hungry, whose stomachs are rumbling. They see that those in power are enjoying life--they have everything. They have ham, sausages, fish--fiestas everyday in the palace. So what do these poor hungry people do?

[Second person] Must the high officials, the ministers and also the cronies. All those living the high life, those with Mercedes Benses, those celebrating in hotels all the time. All this amid people who cannot afford the bare necessities. This Christmas we are seeing the weakness of Christ's lesson. The way Christ preached was through weakness. But people are trying to do things with violence precisely because the government started it. So the solution is violence, because the military solution is a violent solution. Therefore how did we arrive at it? Christ is no longer in the picture. We can talk in circles; no one will believe the administration. People are hungry and they do not know what to expect tomorrow--prices going up, no schooling for children, rentals going up, fuel prices going up. All these things piling up. And then in January there will be increased taxes. Where will it all end.

CSO: 4211/19

## VOMD HAILS 16TH CPP ANNIVERSARY, VICTORIES

BK291128 (Clandestine) Voice of Malayan Democracy in Malay 1215 GMT 26 Dec 84

["News Report": "The New People's Army of the Philippines Is Getting Mightier and Mightier"]

[Text] Today, 26 December, marks the 16th founding anniversary of the Communist Party of the Philippines [CPP]. For the past 16 years, the CPP has been leading the New People's Army [NPA] in waging an armed revolutionary struggle to overthrow the U.S.-backed Marcos dictatorial regime and to win the democratic people's revolution. Backed by the U.S. imperialists and equipped with U.S.-made weapons, the Marcos dictatorial regime has also tried to eliminate the CPP and the NPA. Last year, under cover of U.S.-made aircraft and artillery, the Marcos regime mobilized some 50,000 of its forces to launch military campaigns in the guerrilla-controlled areas in southern Philippines.

The reactionary troopers have harassed civilian people everywhere. They have also arrested and even slaughtered innocent people on charges of being suspected as elements of the NPA. These troopers have lost the people's confidence, while the NPA, which faithfully implements the CPP policy of fighting for the people's interests, is loved and supported by the vast masses of people.

Workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, and even priests have followed the footstep of the NPA and took part in the struggle against the U.S.-backed Marcos regime. According to a famous Philippine journalist in Leyte, the hometown of Philippine First Lady Imelda, many peasants have joined the NPA. Thanks to the people's support, the armed forces of the NPA has steadily grown from nothing into something to be reckoned with. The more the NPA is involved in battles, the mightier it is. During the past few years, the NPA has especially been diligent in initiating battles against the enemy and scored numerous victories.

The following are victorious battles by the NPA since September last year. At the end of September last year, NPA fighters ambushed enemy soldiers at an isolated road in the southern Zamboanga region. Based on information obtained earlier, it was known that members of the [words indistinct] battalion of the Marcos regime were returning to their headquarters along that road following their weeklong military operations in the area. As was expected, a vehicle carrying enemy soldiers was moving toward [name indistinct]. As soon as it entered the NPA's trap, the enemy soldiers became sitting ducks. According to the official news report, all 36 soldiers inside that vehicle were killed, but reports from Zamboanga said that the Philippine Army had bought 52 coffins.

Therefore, it was thought that 52 soldiers had been shot dead. The NPA also seized a number of automatic guns in the ambush. The battle greatly affected the Philippine ruling authorities, who described it as a battle in which government forces suffered the heaviest losses in the last few years.

On 17 October 1983, a [name indistinct] battalion, which had been assigned for less than 1 year at [name indistinct], was attacked by the NPA, resulting in five policemen being shot dead and another two injured. The NPA managed to seize three rifles and several rounds of ammunition.

Late at night on 27 April 1984, a 16-man Philippine reactionary force fired indiscriminately at a house in a village 100 km north of Davao, killing a woman and her three children. This brutal massacre indeed provoked the people's fury. A villager who witnessed the massacre said the slain family died because there was no way to escape. Avenging the crime, the NPA then successfully wiped out all the reactionary troopers within a few hours after the incident.

In an ambush in a central Philippines village on 2 June 1984, the NPA shot dead eight enemy soldiers and injured nine others. On 28 June, the NPA also ambushed a jeep heading for (?Tabangkalan) in the central Philippines. Early on the morning of 16 July, the NPA fighters fearlessly attacked a marketplace, killing three policemen on duty. They also broke open the arms depot and seized a great deal of arms and ammunition.

Backed by the air force and heavy artillery, the enraged Marcos regime then mobilized more than 2,000 soldiers to attack the NPA bases on 14 July. Due to the brutality of the reactionary forces, the civilians living near the NPA bases could not live in peace and had to evacuate. The NPA fighters then clashed with the reactionary troops in the (Agusan) region. After several minutes of fierce fighting, the NPA managed to shoot dead nine enemy soldiers and wound seven others. [passage indistinct]

The NPA continues to develop its combat style fearlessly by employing agile and flexible tactics and creating an excellent situation while making enemy soldiers retreat in disarray.

According to the mass media, U.S. analysts were still confident last year that the guerrilla forces did not pose a threat to the Marcos regime, but now even the U.S. ambassador to the Philippines has openly admitted that the armed insurgency in the country is indeed a serious problem. Early last October, the U.S. Defense Department issued a warning that under the present circumstances, the outlawed CPP and NPA might be able to wrest power within 10 years. The Philippine military and civilian officers personally admitted that a revolutionary situation had indeed emerged in Mindanao, and that it was impossible to maintain security and order in the area.

A U.S. journalist who often visits the Philippines pointed out that Marcos is facing the threats of national instability, economic problem, and onslaught of the communist guerrillas. With increasingly daring armed attacks, the NPA fighters have repeatedly defeated the corrupt and despairing Philippine Army. Even Marcos had to admit that the CPP forces are growing fast and beginning to control some cities in Southern Philippines, while the situation in Mindanao needs serious attention. He said with great alarm that the NPA is now operating in battalion size and its number is growing with each passing day.

UP PUBLICATION ON PLIGHT OF REFUGEES IN SABAH

Quezon City THE DILIMAN REVIEW in English Sep-Oct 84 pp 42, 81

[Article by George M. Keltos: "Lost in Legal Limbo--Philippine Refugees in Sabah"]

[Text] Considerable attention has been focused on efforts exerted in the Philippines on behalf of the Vietnamese refugees. In contrast, little attention--official, media, or popular--has been paid to Philippine refugees, either those who are in their own country or who have actually fled to another country. Many of them leave on small boats perhaps not as dramatically as the Vietnamese boat people, but certainly their being refugees is just as tragic.

The problem has existed for over a decade, and may well continue for another ten years unless serious efforts succeed in alleviating the critical situation. The Mindanao conflict continues to disrupt the social, cultural and economic life of people in the troubled areas. Large-scale loss of life and property has been the familiar consequence. Marketplaces, homes, religious shrines, and even entire towns have been destroyed by what some political analysts call a "civil war," others "a socio-religious confrontation," and still others put the blame on "terrorists" and "communists." Whatever the label, the result remains the same--thousands of displaced Filipinos.

The refugees are a result of conflicts that give rise to 1) systematic resettlement of families in areas "protected" by the military, better known as strategic hamlets; 2) leaving of their homes to take up residence in nearby towns; or 3) escape and seeking political asylum in the neighboring Malay state of Sabah.

The exact number of Filipinos who have sought refuge in Sabah following the various social and political upheavals of the late sixties and seventies is uncertain. However, current estimates range between 150,000 and 250,000. These Filipino refugees are found mainly along Sabah's coastal areas, especially on its eastern seaboard--in Semporna, Sandakan, Lahad Datu, and Tawau. On its western shores, large numbers of Filipinos have settled or squatted in Kudat and Kota Kinabalu, the state capital.

Selecting a legal status for the Filipino arrivals has proven difficult for the Malaysian authorities, often resulting in frustration and uncertainty



among those seeking protection. In discussions concerning these people, a variety of terms to describe their status are used: "refugees," "displaced persons," and "evacuees" appear most frequently. Actually, the meaning of each is the same: the undesirable and oftentimes unfavorable change in one's living conditions arising from direct force or out of fear of future persecution. However, in international law, the semantic differences are significant, with the term refugee yielding the greatest legal consequences.

When relatively large groups of Filipinos arrived in Sabah following the Autumn events of 1972, the Malaysian government allowed them to stay for humanitarian reasons. Even though their numbers rapidly increased, Malaysian authorities did not deem it necessary to register the new arrivals as refugees, since historically it was not uncommon for Filipinos to migrate in and out of Sabah. This traditional movement thus became the thrust of the Philippine government's argument that refugee status should not be granted, since according to Muslim Affairs Minister Romulo Espaldon, "they are at home there" (Bulletin Today 22 Nov. 1982).

In an attempt to clarify their inconsistent policy regarding resident Vietnamese and Filipinos, Malaysian authorities issued a statement granting Filipinos refugee status apparently based on religious preferences, while denying the same to the Vietnamese. Home Affairs Minister Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie has been quoted as saying: "Filipinos who come to Sabah to seek sanctuary are given refugee status because their presence will not have adverse effects on the peace and order of the country...." (Daily Express, 24 November 1979).

By recognizing the Filipinos as refugees, Malaysia accepted a number of legal obligations as outlined in the United Nations Draft Convention on Territorial Asylum. However, in an apparent attempt to renege on its official commitment, a pronouncement in November 1982 by a spokesman of the Malaysian Ministry of Foreign Affairs claimed that Malaysia has not granted political asylum to refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia or the Philippines. According to the spokesman, "We have only extended to them temporary shelter." Apparently this statement was issued to retract a portion of a report quoting the Ministry's Parliamentary Secretary Abdul Kadis bin Sheikh Fazir in Parliament on November 2, 1982, which stated that Malaysia had indeed granted asylum to Muslim refugees from the Philippines. The spokesman further went on to say, "What the Parliamentary Secretary meant was shelter, and not asylum" (Bko 31203 Hong Kong AFP in English 0515 GMT 3 November 1982).

International aid was slow in coming since the United Nations did not officially acknowledge the seriousness of the situation until 1978. In that year some assistance was provided the Filipinos in Sabah. Allocations were made available through the United Nations Emergency Fund in order to provide food and construct small resettlement areas in Kota Kinabalu and eventually in Sandakan. However, only approximately 200 of these housing units were built before the United Nations High Commission on Refugees concluded in 1982 that "it is not advisable, at this stage, to embark on such [housing] projects in view of the relatively high costs and long periods of time involved compared to the modest number of refugees who would benefit" [UNHCR Report A/AC, 96/606, 1982: 336).

In addition to the immediate concern for the refugees' well-being, one must not neglect to consider the long-term implications on the region. For Sabah, the presence of such large numbers of Filipinos has caused much apprehension and even fear in some sectors of the society. Even though some would argue that the Filipinos' presence is helping fill Sabah's demand for semi-skilled labor, many Sabahans are of the opinion that the Filipinos impose important social and political problems.

The refugees, 97 percent of whom are followers of Islam according to a 1977 Survey of Filipino Displaced Persons, make up the second largest ethno-religious group in Sabah. The Christian Kadazan population, claimed by some to be the "definitive" people of the state, fear that their already tenuous hold on the area will be undermined. No longer are the Christians the overwhelming majority, and they thus fear the political ramifications of allowing the Filipinos to stay. If the refugees are granted citizenship and voting privileges, their political persuasion will certainly play an important role in future elections.

Philippine-Malaysian relations have already been at the edge of curtailment due to the Philippine claim to Sabah. The continued conflict in Mindanao, with its resultant outflow of refugees, can only lead to a worsening of relations. However, much effort has been exerted by both sides to downplay the severity of the situation, with the hope of minimizing critical media coverage. For the most part these efforts have been successful. The yearning for ASEAN unity, a facade most eagerly sought, has also restrained member nations from publicly condemning the situation. The price for maintaining this superficial unity, however, has been tremendous in human suffering, and in lives. For one thing, neither the Ministry of Muslim Affairs or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is officially, publicly, and avowedly in charge of the Philippine refugees (a phone call to each Ministry results in being passed from one person to another, none of them sure on who is in charge or can give information).

Who is concerned about these Filipinos? Even more to the point: How long must this shameful condition continue? Some argue that this state of affairs will continue to worsen as long as the present administration is in power. Can we perhaps hope that, with the campaign rhetoric and the elections over, and with the infusion of some new blood into the Batasang Pambansa, this situation can be brought into political focus, along with other social needs and concerns of the Filipino citizenry?

CSO: 4200/283

## ARTICLES EXAMINE PLIGHT OF DETAINEES, FAMILIES

## Ocampo's Views

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA Weekly Supplement in English 2 Dec 84 pp 3-5

[Article by Satur C. Ocampo: "DETENTION: A War of Nerves and Perseverance"]

[Text] **O**ld friends and new with whom I had talked for the first time during the almost nine years I've spent in military detention never failed to ask if I had been tortured. And when I answered "yes," they pressed for details. After I had been through my narration of the ordeal, the inquisitive friends ended up either astonished or depressed.

But why, I often ask, why this seeming obsession of people about torture as if there was nothing else more interesting in the life and experiences of a political detainee than the torture he had undergone?

True, torture remains an unforgettable — perhaps traumatic — experience. But after so many years one gets to leave the torture experience behind, or at the bottom of one's memory bank, no matter that with every new political detainee's fresh account of his or her own torture experience one's healed wounds burst afresh and bleed copiously.

After all, torture seems to have become a matter of course for the political detainees of the Marcos regime. And one emerges from the hellish experience either steeled (as most of those I know) or shattered, requiring considerable time to recover and become whole again.

But I don't intend to discuss torture, nor to engage in a debate with the Marcos regime which claims that torture is not a government policy nor standard practice of the military and police in connection with their anti-insurgency and anti-subversion operations. ("Torture is not permitted, it is not authorized. If it has happened, it has occurred in violation of the law," declared Justice Minister and Solicitor-General Estelito Mendoza, Sunday, Nov. 11, 1984). Rather, I'd like to point out that the physical torture that one undergoes soon after arrest and for some time thereafter (which could run from a few days to several weeks) is not the only hard test that a political detainee must surmount.

The entire period of detention in a military camp may — depending on one's outlook, one's psychological makeup, and one's threshold of pain constitute a process of prolonged torture. Or from another view, it may be a series of battles in a war of nerves and perseverance. And like in all wars, there are battles won and battles lost. There are high and low points, ebbs and flows. One must learn to ride out the lows and to enjoy the high points.

Solitary confinement, which befalls detainees who prove defiant during



torture under "tactical interrogation," or whom the military decide to keep away from contacts with family, lawyer and friends as a measure to "safeguard national security," may prove as traumatic as physical torture.

Under total isolation (as differentiated from partial isolation wherein the detainee is held apart from fellow detainees but is allowed limited visits by immediate members of his family or his lawyer) one is practically dumped in a giant closet, where day and night make no difference. One lives in a continual darkness, sealed from the intrusion of sunlight, people and news from the outside world. (I was in such total solitary confinement for three months in 1976, manacled to the post of my steel cot in a boarded-up cell day and night. For six more months I was in partial isolation. Again, from November 15, 1980 to April 8, 1981, I was placed in partial isolation.)

Luckily, most political detainees have been spared this prolonged "cruel and unusual punishment," as the Supreme Court ruled it was in the case of Jose Ma. Sison, held in isolation for almost seven years at the Military Security Unit in Fort Bonifacio, two years in total isolation. But those who have survived this ordeal seem all the better than they were before. They've notched a victory in a major battle,

a battle fought in solitude. (One, Sixto Carlos, Jr. who was in partial isolation for two years in MSU, lost the battle — to keep his hair from falling.)

Even where political detainees are allowed social interaction among ourselves — as should be the case because we are not convicts serving punishment for grave crimes committed but simply under preventive detention — each one continues to fight a private war (or personal battles) even as he participates in our collective prison struggles. Such prison struggles, mainly for freedom and respect for our human and legal rights, secondarily for better prison conditions, have often taken the form of hunger strikes, most of them culminating in victory, others in defeat.

Personal battles may involve any, or all, of the following: adjustment to prison life, its routines of everyday tasks and idle time; personality conflicts (or adjustment to close-living with all sorts of personalities not necessarily to one's liking); problems of survival (economic and emotional deprivation) of the detainee's family; and buryong, or extreme boredom and exasperation which may be brought about by prolonged detention or by overlapping unsolved personal problems.

In almost all military detention centers, political detainees find it necessary to organize for common protection and for advancing our prison welfare and those of our families and for waging struggles for early freedom. But no matter how organized we may be, the harsh fact of imprisonment, of isolation from the flow of normal living in a relatively free society, continues to impinge into every detainee's consciousness.

For one, there are the ever-present or recurrent harassments, subtle or brutal, by the military custodians. Visits may be suspended suddenly because "red alert" has been ordered in the military camp, just as visitors gather at the prison gate all eager to see their detained loved ones, only to be frustrated. The frustration is inflicted two-fold, on the visiting relatives (particularly wives and children) and on the detainees.

Or, as it often happens in Bicutan, the water supply may be cut off just when dishes and kitchen utensils and dirty clothes need to be washed, toilet bowls need to be flushed, and the detainees pine for a splash of water to cool their sweating bodies. Or the custodians may deliver water by firetruck but the water is but a couple of drumfuls, or else it's dirty or stinking and no amount of boiling would take the stink and the bad taste away.

Or when a detainee suffers internal pain or falls ill and it takes time for him or her to be taken to the clinic--often he or she has to walk all the way, come sunshine or rain, because the prison van has conked out or has no fuel to run on. And at the clinic the detainee is given a cursory examination and is handed a prescription of medicines--to be bought at the detainee's expense.

In the provinces, the problem of political prisoners is compounded by their being confined in common cells with hardened criminal detainees who live by the laws of the jungle. Meals are not better than slop, and medical care is almost non-existent. Or so one learns in the comparatively "well-off" confines of the PC/INP Jail in Bicutan, once considered the "five-star hotel" among the Marcos regime's 80-odd detention centers.

But these irritants are nothing compared to the barriers to our return to freedom put up by the regime one after, or on top of, the other. The battle for freedom is undisputably the most crucial of prison battles. It is also the most bitterly fought, basically because the regime keeps on changing the rules of the game. (Yes, Mr. Marcos could have had his tongue in cheek when he told the UP law alumni that his regime would not brook changing the rules in the middle of the game, in relation to the referral of the Agrava fact-finding board reports to the Tanodbayan.)

The odyssey of the ASSO (arrest, search and seizure order instituted at the onset of martial law) through the PCO (presidential commitment order) and into the PDA (preventive detention action) is a case in point. All three, as human rights champion Jose W. Diokno aptly allegorized, are the same dog with different collars. The same dog that has kept many a political detainee in indefinite detention until after its master/wielder pulled it away.

The ASSO, which had become passe after the "lifting of martial law on January 17, 1981, was replaced by the PCO. The PCO was in turn denounced by a broad cross-section of the people for condoning arbitrary arrest, indefinite detention and denial of the right to bail and due process. In the heat of a swelling mass movement demanding its abolition--after the Supreme Court upheld the President's power to issue it (in the Garcia-Parong habeas corpus case, April 1983)--the PCO was abolished. In its stead came the PDA.

Despite this odyssey and transformation, the ASSO is still considered valid by the government in the case of those arrested under martial law, and for that matter the PCO in the case of those arrested when it was in effect. No one, but no one (to paraphrase Mr. Marcos) who has been issued an ASSO, PCO or PDA can therefore avail of the right to bail or to question before the courts his or her arbitrary arrest--the ASSO, PCO and PDA often were issued after arrest had been effected. No matter that the court having jurisdiction may order a

detainee released, he or she may not be freed unless so expressly ordered by the President (or the ASSO, PCO or PDA were lifted).

And while, as a sop to those who denounced the PCO's harshness, the decree on the PDA provides for a review within one year of the validity of holding the arrested person in detention, it also provides an excuse for prolonging his imprisonment on the ground that the detainee continues to engage in (subversive, seditious or insurrectionary) activities for which he was arrested. A really cunning police dog the PDA is. Wala kang kawala, wala kang lusot!

Ironically, the fact that the PDA, or its equivalent military order, has not been issued on top-ranking military officers named as "indictable" for the conspiracy to assassinate Benigno S. Aquino, Jr. speaks eloquently of unequal treatment under the law. So apt was the banner unfurled at the gate of Camp Aguinaldo last November 14, which said: "Military conspirators innocent before proven guilty; political prisoners guilty before proven innocent."

Another set of hurdles we political detainees confront are the series of amendments to the anti-subversion law and other "offenses against national security and public order," which are invariably slapped against us. Republic Act 1700, passed in 1957 which outlawed the Communist Party of the Philippines founded in 1931 and which required two witnesses to convict an accused of violating this law, was amended by PD 885 on Feb. 3, 1976. PD 885 outlawed membership in or support for the members of "subversive organizations" with no specific mention of the CPP, and pared down to only one the witness needed to convict an accused. Last year PD 885 was further amended by PD 1835, which raised the penalty for subversion to life imprisonment or death in addition to deprivation of citizenship and confiscation of all the properties of the convicted person.

Along with the anti-subversion law, the law on rebellion, insurrection, sedition and related offenses (including participation in anti-government mass actions and publication of "scurrilously libelous" and "subversive" articles) was repealed by PD 1834, also imposing the death penalty for such offenses. These two decrees, plus PD 1836 (which has something to do with arrests) and PD 1877 as amended by PD 1877-A (the law on the PDA), have been questioned before the Supreme Court by the Integrated Bar of the Philippines no less, for being unconstitutional, invalid and "unprecedented in their severity and highly repressive character." The Supreme Court's decision is avidly awaited. Should these decrees be declared unconstitutional, it would be a triumph for Justice and a repudiation of the Marcos regime's own version of justice.

Ineptitude or carelessness by military lawyers in charging political detainees of violating the laws on subversion and rebellion result in injustice to some accused. For instance, in my case, although I was already in military custody when PD 885 was issued, I am now charged of having violated this law. The military commission trying this case (where I am accused with nine others) has glossed over this fact, notwithstanding my defense lawyer's objections. But this is just one instance of travesty of justice.

In military court trials, "evidences" normally considered inadmissible by civilian courts (such as statements or confessions of certain accused taken, signed and sworn to by them under duress) are admitted, and objections by the defense on jurisprudential and procedural questions are invariably denied with the objections merely taken note of. The proceedings are such that we the accused see no possibilities of ever attaining justice. Our plight is worsened by the inability of the Supreme Court to decide categorically on fundamental questions of law, due process and individual freedom that we have brought up for the tribunal's adjudication.

Release through legal (the courts) and extra-legal (representations with the military authorities, the Defense Ministry, and the President) means has become truly problematic. Up till the middle of 1980, releases came relatively easy when the Defense Minister or the Chief of the Office for Detainee Affairs (ODA) was authorized to release political detainees. After that, only the President can order the release of anyone, and he has been very stingy and intransigent on this matter.

Political detainees who justly believe, on both legal and humanitarian grounds, that they deserve to be freed find themselves in a virtual conundrum. The courts--both civilian and military--seem to take their cue from President Marcos in deciding on questions brought before them concerning the release, through bail or otherwise, of political detainees. Of course, there have been of late a few upright and intrepid judges and fiscals who have dismissed charges filed by the military against political detainees: judges and fiscals who have stuck to the spirit of the law or interpreted the law with humanity and compassion--as President Marcos himself has often avowed.

This is an encouraging sign for us political detainees. We can only wish that the tribes of these upright and gutsy judges and fiscals increase. But more than the individual uprightness and intrepidity of these men of law, this favorable development is owed to the advancing people's protest movement that has raised, in increasing intensity and scope, basic demands for justice, freedom and democracy. These demands are spelled out in specifics, like the removal of Amendment 6 and all repressive decrees and proclamations and letters of instructions, the abolition of the PDA and the full restoration of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, and the release of all political prisoners/detainees.

Obviously, the Filipino people have grown tired and exasperated over the authoritarian rule of the Marcos regime. They are outraged by oppressive laws and the enfeeblement of the judicial system. They demand an end to the injustices heaped on citizens who are made victims to "salvaging," kidnapping, massacre, hamletting, arbitrary arrest, torture and indefinite detention. The rekindled fire of protest and defiance now spreading like a prairie fire in the country appears to be the only counterpoise -- and ultimately the offsetting factor -- to authoritarian

rule and its train of injustices.

The Marcos regime has got to give in, NOW. To defy the law of history of people's just, if revolutionary, causes could prove the regime's gravest mistake. The day the Marcos regime gives in, or the Filipino people's movement triumphs, may be the day when the infamy visited on us political detainees would end.

That would be the day the detainees' war of nerves and perseverance could be considered finally won.



## Making of Documentary on Ocampo

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 2 Dec 84 p 5

[Text]

**H**ow does a filmmaker shoot a documentary film on a political detainee, featuring interviews with the subject? Almost impossible. With nineteen-year-old Ma. Sonora Ocampo, however, the project required some money, a lot of imagination, perseverance — and connections. Much of the effort in doing "Ka Satur," a short documentary feature on detained journalist Satur Ocampo, involved smuggling tapes, a recorder, microphone and camera into and out of Ka Satur's cell in Bicutan. Nobody could have done it, except that the filmmaker Ma. Sonora ("Nona" for short) is the daughter of Satur.

The 30-minute, super-8 mm. docu, a portrait of Ka Satur tracing his personal and political developments and showing his life in prison, was submitted by Nona and fellow communication arts students Ma. Lourdes Aguirre and Carla de Vera to the De la Salle University as undergraduate thesis last April. The

film shows old and new still photos of Satur while the soundtrack plays Nona's taped interviews with father. It also includes interviews with her mother Sheila in Mozambique.

Communication Arts Director Clodualdo del Mundo, Jr. of De la Salle University thinks that the docu could have been better, "crude" as it is. Nevertheless, the critical but proud mentor says that under the circumstances, it was the best that the students could do, and that in terms of substance, the film has a lot to say. Which must be the reason why "Ka Satur" was chosen by De la Salle as its student entry to the current Short Film Festival by the Experimental Cinema of the Philippines.

The ECP competition ends today, with an awards ceremony scheduled at the controversial Film Center late in the afternoon. Festival jurors were reportedly enthusiastic about this unlikely entry by De la Salle, and the dope is that "Ka Satur" is going to be a winner. Maybe the ECP crowd ought to see more films like "Ka Satur."

## Belle Morales' KAPATID Activities

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA Weekly Supplement in English 2 Dec 84 pp 6, 7

[Article by Nicolas V. Quijano, Jr.]

[Text]

**T**HIRTY-year-old Belle Morales, wife of political prisoner and alleged chairman of the National Democratic Front (NDF) Horacio "Boy" Morales, is in high spirits. Though no stranger to pressure and bouts of depression, feelings which can make her quiet and introspective, she is relaxed for obvious reasons. The day and night before, she was with her husband, detained at the maximum-security Bagong Bantay facility in Quezon City, for the thrice-a-week conjugal visits. The following day, she is

to fly down to Iloilo to launch yet another KAPATID chapter.

KAPATID, headed by Armando J. Malay, is an association of families and friends of political prisoners where Belle Morales sits as executive officer. Both events buoy up her spirits so much that the stress and rigors, usually accompanying the painful separation of families, her voluble spirits and easy smiles do not betray.

"It (the separation)," she says, "is a test of the relationship. It gives you room for your creativity: How do you

make things normal, given an abnormal situation."

Belle Morales is tall and thin; the cast of the face is Malayan: dusky-colored and round with delicate features — smooth skin, small black eyes and a perky nose. She met Horacio Morales, he a brilliant government technocrat who was reputed to have germinated the KKK program, and she, a fresh graduate from Maryknoll College, at the Development Academy of the Philippines (DAP). Marrying him after Morales broke off with his first wife; their union produced two children: Alexander, 6 and Karina, 3. Horacio Morales disappeared in the late seventies because, as it was said, he could not take anymore the graft and corruption going inside government; a disappearance which created ripples in government since he was a ranking technocrat predicted to go places.

"I didn't know whether he was alive or dead," she recalls the unnerving moments of the first two weeks when her husband was arrested in 1981. She could not eat or sleep either in those two weeks when she and her husband's family were searching for Morales in the many military detention camps. After military authorities finally confirmed they had custody of her husband, fresh challenges lay in wait for the wife.

"After the arrest, I was disoriented," she recalls. "I wasn't used to going about detention cases. Fortunately, TFD (Task Force Detainees) gave me morale support. They were a big help in the initial phase of my husband's detention: when you talked to them about it, they understood you perfectly. I had people on whom I could share my repressions and feelings."

Most wives and mothers who have husbands and sons in detention because of strong political convictions go through this initial phase of helplessness, Belle says. After that come the problems of food and money. Though she confesses she didn't have to trouble herself with this since her family and her husband's family are financially able and more than willing to support them; most detainee families have no other means of support but those coming from the detained. Most detainees are the breadwinners of their respective families, she says.

At KAPATID, Belle says, "a thin line separates just reward and charity in our welfare programs." Immediately after arrest, the immediate family of the detained are given financial help. The problem, however, is that continuous help compounds further a detainee family's sense of helplessness. "How can you assist these families and yet not make it appear like a dole-out?" she says of the problem. KAPATID resolved this demeaning situation by having the families and relatives work out their own assistance by husbanding them in food and other money-generating drives. Pride-renewing activities which are also useful towards fostering group solidarity.

"The different families and relatives become a source of strength for everyone," Belle says. "Instead of a wife going on a solo flight seeking the release of her husband, she has a group with the same problems working with her. Subsequently, the group is able to tap unknown skills and energies as they work for the release of the detainees. The release of one detainee is the victory of all."

Solidarity is also of tremendous help to a detainee. Noel Etabag, a detained Negros peasant, had to send his wife and two children, while keeping two other children in Manila, back to Negros because his family could not survive in the city. But with an ongoing exhibition of paintings done under detention and under the aegis of KAPATID, Etabag hopes to reunite his family soon. "What they (the detainees)," explains Belle, "look forward to every day are the visits of their respective families."

In her case, she also has to face the problem of the children. The child is the most affected when the father is detained, she says. Aside from her motherly explanations, Belle says former detainee Nelia Sancho's school for the children of detainees and ex-detainees has been a big help. By putting all these children under one school and responding to their unique needs, Belle says, the school has helped the children to surmount the initial confusion a child undergoes when his or her father is detained. The school changes that confusion to a sense of pride about their fathers. A pride which a child

carries even if he or she goes to other schools, meeting other children.

The child too is given all the illusion of a normal family life, even if the mother is acting both father and mother. For instance, everytime young Alexander Morales asks this or that from his father during his weekly visits, his father always makes it a point to give the impression he was the one who got what the child asked for. Though it was the mother who did everything to satisfy the child. So far, her children are growing up healthy and doing fine, Belle says.

The solidarity of the detainee families and relatives is also useful in the difficult task of releasing a detainee. Most of the work in KAPATID and other groups concerned with political detainees, says Belle, is to generate all the local and international support they can get on the plight of detainees. These could mean letter campaigns, signature drives or any means to gain public awareness and support.

The letter campaign is a taxing effort. The KAPATID newsletter *Pahatid* reports how Debby Taguiwalo La'O, a 26-year-old nurse working in Macedonia, Ohio spent two hours every night after work for years to compose and type letters to human rights groups and politicians in the United States. She is working for the release of her 34-year-old sister Judy Taguiwalo, who recently gave birth inside the Camp Crame detention center. Through Debbie's work and those of her other sisters, Amnesty International, the Nobel Prize winner human rights group, issued an Urgent Action notice encouraging individuals to express their concern to Philippine officials about the inadequate medical attention given to Judy while she was pregnant.

In Belle's case, working for the release of her husband is as taxing. Although a signature drive among her husband's fraternity brothers petitioning for Morales's release and a concert to raise funds for a publication of a pamphlet on her husband had already been done, these had not been enough. The release is not forthcoming on a legal acquittal either, she says. In the ongoing Morales

trial, the government is still presenting its last witness.

"There's an illogical system of release," Belle explains. "Our case is not hopeless. We want a 'public pressure' type of release." Calling it a "palisot release," Belle says this strategy, aside from letter campaigns, for one, calls for developing "padrinos" in government. "They are old friends who are willing to help but do not want it known publicly they are doing so," she says.

She, for instance, has not approached Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile or General Fabian Ver; but a friend has and has been able to pass whatever information or development regarding her husband to Belle.

It is a slow process, she says, but then, she is not after immediate results as these informal channels will be very useful in "future actions." Though these informal channels have already borne fruit, Belle says Enrile has given no objection to the release of her husband and Ver has already forwarded the case to President Marcos, who it seems decides on these sensitive cases by himself.

In the meantime, Belle says, her husband views his detention as a sort of sabbatical leave. "A time to catch up on his reading," she says. She also confesses her husband is more depressed than her about the whole affair.

"Being a manager," she says, "he loves talking to people, planning about things. He feels helpless at times because he knows he can be of big help but because of these limitations. . ."

Despite the confinement, Belle says, she tells him everything, including problems. "He has to know the problems, even if he gets depressed about them or not," she says.

The hidden, web-like strengths between husband and wife lie, of course, in their candidness and at the same in their similar dreams and hopes. "I dream the same things my husband dreams about. I think that if he was not arrested, we would continue with what we had worked on. Now with the arrest and detention, we are only shifting our efforts towards smaller things like making KAPATID stronger." Belle, who took



the executive officership of KAPATID only last June, brings whatever problems she encounters in her work to her husband and he has helped solve them. "After all, he is a very good management man," she smiles.

Her spirits high, she jokes that what is happening to her and Boy is "just an annoying interruption." It could be true, given the state of the nation.

#### Commentary Estimates Numbers

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA Weekly Supplement in English 2 Dec 84 p 9

[Article by Armando Malay]

[Text]

**B**etween September 21, 1972, when martial law was imposed, and January 17, 1981, when it was supposedly lifted, it is estimated that about 70,000 Filipinos had been arrested and detained for varying periods. The exact number will never be found because the Marcos government itself does not or cannot give the number.

Back in 1974, Mr. Marcos said in a nation-wide TV-radio broadcast that of "5,234 people under detention in direct consequences of martial law proclamation, 1,165 are political detainees." But during his state visit to the United States in 1982, he denied there were political detainees. This flip-flop of the president just does not hold water. If Jose Ma. Sison, Bernabe Buscayno, Satur C. Ocampo, Doris Baffrey, Vicente Ladlad, et al, are not political detainees, then who are political detainees? Why are there still about 1,200 men and women held in over 100 military prisons and "safehouses"?

If we multiply 1,200 by 5, a conservative guess as to the number of members of a detainees family, then we have 6,000 parents, spouses and children who have been deprived of sons or daughters, husbands or wives, and parents. We can presume that each detainee has, on the average, two living parents, a spouse

and at least two children. These are the ones who are suffering together with their detained kin; they are the ones who have to scratch out a living because their breadwinners are immobilized in prison.

These figures would give the reader an idea of the enormity of the task of KAPATID, Task Force Detainees Philippines, Linggap Bilanggo and other groups that have been organized on behalf of the victims of continued detention of Prisoners of Conscience. We in KAPATID know of cases in which young children of detainees are farmed out among relatives just so their mothers would be able to get a job and support their families. We know of cases in which detainees are not visited by their families for months because they cannot afford the bus or ship fares if they live in distant places.

The human suffering spawned on September 21, 1972, and continuing to this day, cannot be measured alone in pesos or in time lost. Each one of the 6,000 people who are the direct sufferers of political detention, not to mention the 1,200 detainees themselves, harbors in his or her heart a hurt, a resentment, if not a hatred, for those responsible for their plight. And how about the 70,000 people who had been detained from 1972 to 1981, when martial law was supposedly lifted? That they are bitter against the

Marcos regime goes without saying. Technically, all of those 70,000 detained over a nine-year period are only temporarily released. Any time, they may be detained again and be tried by military or civilian courts. Some are technically under house arrest (like the publisher-editor of *Malaya*, the columnists and some staff members), which means that they may be clamped in prison again if Mr. Marcos and/or his military apparatus so decree.

While most of the 70,000 detained from 1972 to 1981, as well as their families, have come to hate the fascist regime for their personal experience, they also deplore the fact that their country is now listed among those countries of the world which are suffering from gross violations of human rights. There is no honor for every Filipino if his president is mentioned in the same breath as Idi Amin Dada of Uganda, Jean Bokassa of Central African Republic, Somoza, Pinochet and other dictators, past or present. It's a cause for national shame and I don't see how we can ever live it down.

CSO: 4200/268

ARTICLE ON PROBLEMS IN MINDANAO

Quezon City VERITAS in English 2 Dec 84 p 19

[Article by Virgilio S. Labrador and Efren Danao: "Davao: The Paralysis of Mindanao"]

[Text] LIFE stood still in Mindanao in the wake of a paralyzing general strike this week by millions of workers peasants, urban poor, students, professionals and businessmen.

The Mindanao-wide mass action dubbed "Welga ng Bayan-People's Protest for Food and Freedom" was launched Nov. 26 with an early morning noise barrage in Davao City, spreading to 22 other major cities and hundreds of towns in Mindanao.

The transport and industrial strike was led by the CORD-NAJFU Mindanao chapter and 42 affiliate organizations under its umbrella.

The strike epicenter is at Davao City where about 95 per cent of all public transport and 75 per cent of industrial and commercial firms are on strike. The government fielded 300 buses, some escorted by armed soldiers, to ferry commuters stranded by the strike. No classes were held at all levels in 13 major universities in Davao.

Some 3,000 strikers manned barricades in five strategic centers in the city, completely blocking traffic at some points.

The CORD-led strikers are demanding among other things the rollback of petroleum prices, repeal of Amendment 6, release of all political prisoners, lowering of taxes and the creation of a special court to try those found indictable by the Agrava Board.

CORD mindanao spokesman Atty. Silvestre Bello III deplored the military stance as he noted that evidently the military shifted their tactics rather than arrest strikers at the assembly site they have resorted to zoning operations.

The military denied making arrests directly related to the strike. They, however, said that arrests were made against violators of law and order and "it is only incidental that it happened during the strike."

Davao Metrodiscom headquarters admitted arresting seven persons who are now being investigated.

However, CORD documented at least 16 arrests in Davao City which could be strike-connected. Three residents of Calomo district picked up by unidentified armed men were subsequently killed. The three were identified as Lowell Ramos, 18, student; Ruben Cueras, 41, a Mindanao Times employee; and Raymond Cueras.

Meanwhile, opposition quarters expressed doubts on the military "leads" regarding Cesar Climaco's assassination.

"Rizal Alih is Zamboanga's Galman," opposition leader Aquilino Pimentel Jr. told Veritas while expressing fears that the military's "insistence" in naming Alih the prime suspect in Climaco's killing might stir up hatred between Christians and Muslims in Zamboanga City.

Pimentel said that he talked with Alih in Zamboanga last week and Alih reportedly told him, "When my brother (Lt. Abdul Rassad Alih) was killed near Climaco's place, Climaco alone was ministering to my brother. No military and few people were around. If I believed that Climaco killed my brother, I should have shot him right there and then."

On the other hand, Mr. Ramon V. Mitra Jr., a member of the Batasan panel sent to investigate the killing, told Veritas that the military presented to them "bogus witnesses." He said that a number of residents near Alih's place told him that the assassin ran past Alih's house, thus repudiating the military's witnesses who said that the gunman went into Alih's compound.

CSO: 4200/268

REPORTAGE ON DAVAO, METRO MANILA STRIKE VIOLENCE

Davao Transportation Strike Ends

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 1 Dec 84 pp 1, 6

[Text]

DAVAO CITY - Public transport in this southern city normalized late Thursday as a massive four-day strike ended with strike-related violence claiming at least 10 lives.

The media Mindanao News Service reported that the city government has created a committee to handcarry the strikers demands to President Marcos at Malacanang. City councilors Alfredo Vergara of the Mindanao Alliance and Dominador Zuno, Jr. of the Unido and Brig. Gen. Dionisio Tan-Gatue have been named to the committee.

As this developed, acting mayor Cornelio Maskarino said he will call shortly a special session to adopt the strikers demands as the official stand of the city government.

At least four city councilors have pledged to join the next Welga ng Bayan if the strikers' demands are not substantially met by Malacanang, Media Mindanao

reported.

The four reportedly will ask the city government to join organizers of the transport strike - CORD Mindanao and the Nationalist Alliance - in petitioning for a rollback of all gasoline prices to their levels prior to the last oil price hike.

The other strikers demands include a stop to militarization of Mindanao, including zoning, illegal arrests and searches of civilians; the abolition of para-military units, justice for slain journalist Alex Orcullo and the released of two labor leaders - Joel Manglunsod and Dominador Montana - who were arrested by the military on suspicion that they are subversives.

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DAVAO CITY (AP) - Unknown gunmen shot and killed four persons, including a police commander, and two government buildings were damaged by firebombs in

violence coinciding with a public transport strike in this southern city, police said.

The killings brought to 10 the death toll in violent incidents since the city's 2,000 jeepney and bus drivers launched the strike Monday.

The strike ended Thursday afternoon after a meeting between strike leaders and local officials, who promised to transmit the strikers' demand--a reduction in gasoline prices--to President Marcos.

Elsewhere, 25 alleged Communist guerillas and two militiamen were killed in what the military described as an "encounter" on Tuesday between insurgents and members of a fanatical religious cult in Tagum municipality, 30 miles (48 kilometers) northeast of Davao City.

A sketchy military report identified the cultists as belonging to a sect called "remnants of God" but the report did not say what teachings the group preaches. It said the group, backed by local militias, ambushed the rebels who had threatened to burn the cult's church.

Human rights groups have accused the military of arming religious fanatics in the countryside for anti-insurgency operations and said many of the so-called "rebels" killed in "encounters" were actually unarmed peasants executed by paramilitary forces. The military has denied the charges.

Four unidentified men gunned down Maj. Jeremias Barotillo, an assistant constabulary commander, as he was leaving his house Thursday morning. An hour later, unknown gunmen shot and killed two militiamen in another district of the city.

The fourth fatality Thursday was a civilian killed by another group of unidentified men in a beach resort, police said.

Early Wednesday, several men described by police as "terrorists" threw molotov cocktails at the Davao City Hall and a nearby government building, setting some offices on fire. No casualties were reported.

Six persons were killed in various parts of the city on the first day of the strike Monday. They included a soldier and a police civilian employe who tried to disperse strikers setting up street roadblocks and a village captain who was shot while appealing to a group of drivers not to join the strike. The three other fatalities were civilians killed by an armed band who reportedly suspected them of being rebels.

No arrests have been made in connection with the shootings.

The strikers were protesting a government decision raising the price of gasoline by 13 per cent to 9.24 pesos per liter (1.76 U.S. a gallon).



## Woman Dies at Bulacan Picket Line

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 1 Dec 84 pp 1, 6

[Article by Noel Bartolome]

[Text]

A woman striker was killed and four others, including a bystander, were injured the other day when shooting broke out after protesting workers resumed their strike in a Valenzuela food factory.

Fatally gunned down was Leticia Celestino, 23, whose body now lies in front of the picketline at the Victoria Original Food Industries, Inc. at the corner of P. Santiago and R. Jacinto Streets, Barangay Canumay.

The injured workers were identified as Jose Albotra, 20, Nemesia Conde, 25, Rebecca Fiesta, 30, and Wenceslao Gabo, 22, a bystander.

Juanita Dio, 30, president of the Samahan ng mga Manggagawa sa Victoria, said that they ended their month-old strike last Monday and returned to work, but 18 union members were terminated.

She added that at about 2:30 p.m. Wednesday, Rosalinda Ang, daughter of the factory owner, angrily confronted her regarding their complaints about the terminated workers.

Later, Rosalinda and her sister Ma. Victoria, mauled Cristina Fiel, 22, also a union member. Other workers tried to help Fiel resulting in a brawl.

Dio accused factory owner Kiria Ang of threatening to hit the workers with a wooden bench. The workers at this point, made a move to walk out of the factory to prevent more violence.

However, security guards locked the gate, and refused to let them out, shouting at them to go back to work.

She said that six women workers eluded the guards, and ran to get support from nearby residents.

They returned, accompanied by Barangay Captain Turing Matias and policemen, who negotiated with the factory owner to let workers out.

The angry workers immediately set up a human barricade at the gate as a signal that they are resuming their strike, Dio said.

Moments later, the mid-company trucks tried to bring out factory machines to transfer to a new warehouse in nearby Barangay Mayam. But the workers stood in the path of the trucks.

She said Cadito Tiquia, the factory owner's son-in-law, got mad, and fired his gun at the workers, hitting Celestino.

Tiquia, also a son of Valenzuela Special Investigations Division Chief Lt. Cadito Tiquia, was joined by two unidentified security guards and another worker, a non-union member, in the shooting rampage as the Angs stoned the workers. The strikers fought back with stones.

After the one-hour battle, the injured workers lay sprawled in the pavement.

Celestino sustained a gunshot wound in the chest, and did not reach the Valenzuela Emergency Hospital.

The other injured worker, Conde, suffered gunshot wounds in the right thigh, while Albotra was hit at the stomach and left arm.

They were treated at the Jose Reyes Memorial Center.

Fiesta and Gabo, who were both felled by stones in the head, were taken to Valenzuela Emergency Hospital.

Dio said that Tiquia and two security guards are

now detained at the Northern Police District in Camp Karingal in Quezon City.

The workers are now preparing charges against the suspects.

She added that Tiquin had also shot at the picket line last Nov. 2, but failed to hit anybody.

### Workers Unfazed by Killings

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 3 Dec 84 pp 1, 6

[Text]

Workers of 11 strike-bound factories in Valenzuela, Metro Manila yesterday pledged to risk their lives at the picket line, and die fighting for their rights, despite violence that has already claimed the lives of at least three strikers.

Members of the militant Alyansa ng Manggagawa sa Valenzuela (AMVA) stressed during a meeting at the picket line of the Victoria Original Food Industries, Inc. (VOFII) in barangay Canumay that "the death of the strikers had enlightened workers nationwide and strengthened the struggle of the labor sector."

The workers said the killing of Leticia Celestino at the VOFII picket line last Thursday and the death of Antonio de Guzman and Felipe Caracas last April 6 at the Foamtex Industries, Inc., also in barangay Canumay, "have not gone to waste, since their legacy to strikers still lives."

Eduardo Laurencio, AMVA chairman, pointed out that the workers of the 11 strike-bound factories would continue fighting for their rights even if force is used against them by the combined strength of management and the military.

He said that AMVA member-unions, representing about 2,000 workers, would continue the struggle at the picket lines of VOFII, Central Corrugated, Rapid Steel Industries, in barangay Canumay; Mabuhay Textile Mills Inc., Paravi Rubber Products, Textron Manufacturing, in barangay Balubaran; Arayaland Garments, Sta. Cruz Agro, in barangay Bagbaguin; Jomac Garments, Ace Cycle, in barangay Karuhatan; and the Looms International in barangay Paso de Blas.

He said that he received pledges from the striking AMVA members that they will continue manning their picket lines "in order to get justice and to stop the oppression of ordinary laborers."

He said the alliance demands the immediate prosecution of the suspects in the recent killing at the VOFII.

The labor leader also urged the residents to join the workers in their protest against the repressive policies of factory management, and in the struggle to dismantle the US-Marcos dictatorship, that makes anti-labor laws.

Celestino was gunned down Thursday, allegedly by Carlito Tiquin, a son-in-law of the VOFII owner, after the workers prevented company trucks from trans-

porting machines to another warehouse.

Factory security guards Felano Buton and Rogelio Serdo, and a non-union member Enrique Adan reportedly joined Tiquia in the shooting spree, that also left strikers Jose Albota, Nemesia Conde, Rebecca Fiesta and bystander Wenceslao Gaho injured. Tiquia and the two security guards are now under police custody.

At the Foamtex Industries, the two workers were killed after a violent clash between strikers and anti-riot policemen last April 6.

The trial on the case is still going on.

#### Department Store Violence

Quezon City ANG FAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 1 Dec 84 pp 1, 6

[Text]

Five workers of Robinson's Department store on M. Adriatico in Ermita, Manila, were injured as concessioners and security guards broke up their picketline yesterday morning.

The victims sustained contusion and bruises. They were identified as Sol Pascual, 27, of 266 Kawit St., Bahay, Tondo, Manila; Linda Javier, 26, 2145 Pres. Quirino St., Pandacan, Manila; Charito Paz, 24, Lourdes St., Pasay City; Elvira Bacani, 28, UP Diliman, Quezon City and Eliseo Numbres, 21, stockman. Numbres was punched in the face by a security guard.

Romeo Qales, acting chairman of workers Union at Robinson, said they staged strike because of the indifference of owners to their demands.

The unionists, affiliated with the National Union of Waiters in Hotels and Restaurants Inc., expressed anger over alleged illegal suspension of union members, discrimination and union busting.

They were also disappointed over the decision of

the management not to give 13th month pay and Christmas bonus.

Qales said the owners refused to give employees the 13th month pay because of alleged financial difficulties of the company. Workers said they doubted this.

Robinson's worker started their picket last November 28, about 4:30 midnight.

As of presstime, the management of Robinson's department store was not available for comment.

CSO: 4200/268

**AQUINO WITNESS FUND RAISING REPORTED**

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 1 Dec 84 pp 1, 6

[Text] A concerned newsman sent P100 yesterday for Agrava Board civilian witness Ramon Balang, who has been in hiding since last October before the Fact-Finding Board issued two reports which said a military conspiracy was behind the airport murder of Benigno Aquino Jr.

Balang told Malaya last Thursday, he would stick to his testimony, that Rolando Galman could not have shot Aquino. Since giving this testimony Balang was virtually stopped working at the Philippine Airlines where he is a ground mechanic.

He led the life of a man in flight because of persistent threats to his life. During the first time, he went into hiding right after his testimony in December 1983 (he surfaced a few months later to confirm the same before the Board), Malaya readers ran a fund-raising campaign for him.

Now that Balang and other civilian witnesses may have to expose themselves to new dangers by affirming their testimonies before the Tanodbayan, fears have been raised for their safety. No less than Board general counsel Andres Narvasa expressed such fears recently.

After the concerned newsman's donation, Malaya employees dug into their pockets and added P335.00 to the kitty to start the fund campaign in earnest.

We hope Filipinos concerned about truth and justice will once again show Balang and the other civilian witnesses that "Hindi ka nag-iisa."

CSO: 4200/268

IMEE MARCOS BACKS YOUTH RALLIES, DENIES TV MONOPOLY

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 7 Dec 84 pp 1, 14

[Article by C. Valmorla Jr.]

[Text] The independent mind of Member of Parliament Imee Marcos Manotoc (KBL, Ilocos Norte), the President's daughter, surfaced again yesterday when she batted for peaceful demonstrations staged by the youths and students for a legitimate cause.

She also criticized what she called "stone-walling" in some sectors of the broadcast media.

She said she is not an expert on media affairs but, according to her, nothing can be derived from stone-walling or obstruction. She proposed a more intelligent media policy on this matter.

On the demonstrations, Mrs. Manotoc said the youths "are always right when they react to a given situation," basing on her experience as head of the Kabataang Barangay (KB).

During the breakfast conference with the Batasan Press Corps, the neophyte lawmaker answered questions candidly like a veteran politician on such issues as Amendment 6, succession, the International Monetary Fund, the opposition, politics, and economics.

Mrs. Manotoc said she consults her father frequently on parliamentary procedures, but, she said, she is used to being responsible and accountable to him.

On the health of her father, she only said: "He is better now." She did not elaborate.

She categorically denied involvement in reports about the government's alleged takeover of television stations.

According to her, this is an emergency period so that many measures are being imposed, especially by the IMF, which have to be carried out quickly even if these are very unpopular.

On the subject of succession, Mrs. Manotoc said she believes that KBL leaders are not convinced that temporary incapacity of the President is a valid ground for any change in leadership.

Asked whether she is being groomed as his father's successor, Mrs. Manotoc replied: "I hope not. I will not welcome it at all."

She explained she entered politics as a compromise candidate. "Many would have run for the two Batasan seats for Ilocos Norte in the last elections," she said. "I was the only one they would agree on."

On Amendment 6 which grants the President lawmaking powers, she said that as member of the committee on revision of laws, she knows there are several proposals from both majority and minority parties.

"It's funny but Amendment 6 does not figure prominently in my constituency, Ilocos Norte. What is more urgent is the solution to economic problems like lack of fertilizer and insecticides," she said.

Asked how criticisms against her father has affected her, particularly that which call him a dictator, Mrs. Manotoc replied "I am used to this."

On the active role of the opposition in the Batasan, she said, "I think it is very healthy."

CSO: 4200/268



# UNION CONDEMNS MOLE ROLE IN HOSPITAL STRIKE

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 18 Nov 84 pp 1, 12, 5

[Text] The Alyansa sa mga Mamumuo sa Sugbo (AMA-SUGBO) in a press statement signed by its legal counsel, Henrick Gingoyon, yesterday condemns in the strongest terms possible the malicious intervention of Ministry of Labor and Employment Director Dante Ardivilla in the on-going peaceful strike staged by the workers of the Metro Cebu Community Hospital (MCCH).

The belated intervention of Ditrol of the Bureau of Equipment, to conduct an investigation into Agudo, Chief, Planning and Con- said that he has ordered Ramon rector Dante Ardivilla which included a recommendation addressed to the military to disperse the peaceful strike is malicious because during the 15-day cooling-off period when he is enjoined by B.P. 130 "to exert all efforts at mediation and conciliation to effect a voluntary settlement", he merely relaxed in gay abandon inside his cool office believing, like oppressive capitalists do, that the workers' protest will die down during the cooling-off period. In fact, this is also the belief of the framers of B.P. 130, one of the most anti-labor laws today, Gingoyon said.

The full text of the press statement follows:

Now that the cooling-off period had expired and the workers may now legally stage a strike, Ardivilla barged in, summoning at the same time the military to his side. This abhorrent act of Ardivilla only confirms his prevailing reputation among the workers as a management lackery.

To recommend the dispersal of the striking hospital workers by military force upon the lame pretext that they are affiliated with AMA-SUGBO which Ardivilla branded as a subversive labor union, is grossly irresponsible emanating as it does from a high ranking labor official. For one, it is not among the grounds for restraining a lawful and peaceful strike provided for under any existing labor laws and jurisprudence.

The recommendaion engenders violence and is an invitation to violate the law. We would be too naive not to learn from experience that everytime the military or police comes into the picture, an otherwise peaceful mass action is turned into a bloody confrontation. The Ardivilla recommendation also disregards the existing laws enjoining the military and the police to observe strict

neutrality in labor disputes and in the event their assistance is sought the same should be limited to protection of any destruction of life, limb or property and, in the absence of this contingency, to situate themselves at a distance of no less than 100 meters from the strike area.

It comes as no surprise at all if the hospital workers, acting independently on their own, will suffer the same fate as the many workers affiliated with AMA-SUGBO. For anybody now how militantly stand up for his rights and denounce the inequities of the present system will be dubbed a "subversive" or a communist".

CSO: 4200/283

PLANS TO ENLIST TRIBES IN ANTI-NPA DRIVE DISCLOSED

Davao City PEOPLE'S DAILY FORUM in English 17 Nov 84 p 8

[Text] An unprecedented anti-NPA communist campaign enlisting more than a dozen hilltribes in the region is now in the drawing boards.

Speaking on the confirmation rites for tribal datu and sinimbong (lady datu), Lt. Col. Douglas O. Rosete, civil relations group commander, said the anti-subversive campaign becomes an easy task because of "that deep commitment for peace shared by all of us." This commitment will set off shortly the drive against subversion.

The confirmation was made at the University of Southern Philippines (USP) compound here November 10. Its theme was Kahimunan Ti Bubungan Tu Pagkadatu (Unity in Diversity Through Brotherhood).

Rosete, who spoke for Brig. Gen. Jaime C. Echeverria, commanding general of the Regional Unified Command (RUC) XI and who was conferred as Datu Matighipos (Peacemaker), said "that commitment is made stronger as our hilltribe brothers unite in the midst of social, religious and cultural diversity."

In asking the tribal datu to renew that commitment, Rosete said it must now be directed towards the common fight against subversion. "And the distinct sector of our society that is strongest, an almost invulnerable bulwark against communism are the hilltribes."

He added that "while we know communist subversion and its threat to our lives, we also recognize the need for unity in fighting it."

RUC Chief Brig. Gen. Jaime Echeverria was also conferred the title of Datu Matigmando (commander) during the ritual.

CSO: 4200/283

MARINE ASSAULT ON DAVAO NPA TRAINING CAMP

Davao City PEOPLE'S DAILY FORUM in English 17 Nov 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] A 40-hectare communal and training camp, fully enclosed with barbed wires, of the communist guerrillas of the New People's Army was overrun by the Philippine Marines killing 17 dissidents after a long gunbattle in the boundary of Calinan, this city and Sta. Cruz, Davao del Sur the other day.

The wide communal and training camp, believed to be in operation for sometime, has not been noticed by the military until they were tipped off of its existence by informants.

It allegedly took the Marines several days and nights to reach the NPA camp. Upon discovery of the camp, a spirited gunbattle ensued between the Marines and the dissidents.

The communal and training camp is reportedly fully planted with soy beans, coffee and the place has sufficient supply of rice that would last the dissidents for at least one year.

The Marines have also found several horses, radio sets, firearms and other live ammunitions in the camp.

Aside from serving as a camp for communal farming, the place is also believed used for training guerrillas in urban and rural warfare.

It was not known how many dissidents-inhabitants are staying in the camp but most of them were reported to have fled after the smoke of battle faded away.

Meanwhile, a Marine was critically wounded while one NPA guerrilla was captured after a two-day gunbattle between government troopers and dissidents in sitios Luwaay and Camotes in Sta. Cruz, Davao del Sur last Thursday and Friday.

Villagers of the two sitios readily evacuated to safer grounds. The scene of the gunbattle is located some 5 kilometers away from the national highway in the mountain.

The provincial government, led by Gov. Primo Ocampo, have distributed relief goods and rice to the evacuees numbering some 60 families.

The names of the Marine and the NPA who was captured were not readily known.

BISHOP SUSPECTS RUMOR IS MILITARY PLOT DEVICE

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 18 Nov 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Edgar Cadagat]

[Text] BACOLOD City--Bishop Antonio Y. Fortich has reprimanded a ranking constabulary colonel for spreading a rumor about a plot to assassinate the church leader.

The rumor, which was initiated in the pages of a local daily, spread like wildfire and brought fear among Bacolod parishioners and residents, who swamped radio stations and the bishop's palace with calls to verify the report.

The rumors would not have gone out of hand had the originator informed the church prelate beforehand instead of leaking it to the media, the bishop said.

Col. Isagani de los Santos of the Tactical Command Post and considered a ranking counter-insurgency officer of Negros, admitted he was the source of the news.

The rumor started to circulate all over the province when the Visayan Daily Star, a local daily, reported about the purported plot, quoting de los Santos, who claimed having received information of a "communist plot" to kill the bishop.

The daily quoted de los Santos as saying that the alleged plan was in line with the "communist strategy to assassinate a renowned figure whose violent death can trigger international indignation and concern" and to discredit the military.

Bishop Fortich, on the other hand, suspected the report as a military plot designed to neutralize him because of his strong stand against human rights violations.

During a military-church dialogue last Nov. 14, de los Santos admitted that he was the one who confided in a reporter news of an alleged plot.

Fortich laughed off the report, but good-naturedly reprimanded de los Santos.

During the same military-church dialogue, another PC soldier was reprimanded by his superiors for allegedly threatening a priest with death.

Reprimanded by ranking military officers led by Brig. Gen. Isidoro de Guzman, commanding officer of the Regional Unified Command (RUC) No. 6, was Sgt. Joel Galvez, a supervisor of the Civilian Home Defense Force (CHDF) in Himamaylan town.

Galvez was reported to have publicly threatened several times to shoot Fr. Wildredo Dejilla for allegedly exposing his name during rallies in Himamaylan.

The priest had earlier told Malaya about the alleged abuses of CHDF elements in the hinterlands.

Dejilla also exposed PC men who took the roof of a chapel in sitio Pandahan, barangay Suay, and utilized the materials to build their detachment.

CSO: 4200/283



CEBU ALLIANCE DEPLORES MILITARY ARRESTS OF CLERGY

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 18 Nov 84 pp 2, 8

[Text] (A statement of protest issued by the Cebu Alliance for Church Peoples Response (CACPR). Cebu Alliance for Church Peoples Response (CACPR)

It is the Mission of the Church to Serve the people, especially the least of our brethren, and to struggle for justice and peace to reign in our country. All Church people and active Christians are aware of this very sublime mission.

It was while fulfilling this duty that Fr. Arci Abellana, Fr. Jaime Villaflores, Bro. Dennis, a seminarian and 24 other Church workers and students were arbitrarily arrested by the military on November 11, 1984.

As co-workers, we deplore the repressive act of the military in arresting Church workers as a direct assault against the Church!

We deplore the government for being responsible in allowing the military to reign over the people by force of arms. We deplore the seeming indifference of Cebu City Mayor Duterte, Governor Gullas and Pres. Marcos towards the cries of the people for a better society. This was the cause carried by the Sunday Marchers some of whom were arrested arbitrarily by the military.

We deplore the joint move of the government officials and the military in quelling the peaceful protest of the suffering Cebuanos. We consider this act as an implementation of harsh policies designed by the Regional Unified Command (RUC), under Gen. Ecarma, to quell the advancing people's struggle for a more just and humane society.

CSO: 4200/283

MALAYA: AFP INSTIGATING 'CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM WAR'

Climaco Cover Up Motive

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 1 Dec 84 p 4

[Editorial: "Solving the Climaco Killing"]

[Text]

Is there a diabolical plot to instigate a Christian-Muslim war in Zamboanga City to cover up the treacherous assassination of the late Mayor Cesar Climaco?

Reports coming from the City of Flowers state that there is such a plot, and that the same has been hatched by the military.

According to the reports, the motive is to blame the Muslims for the cold-blooded killing of the courageous mayor in order to divert suspicion from the military stationed in that city.

Thus, the same sources said, the illegal and unjustified zoning of the compound where the Alih clan resided by the Philippine Marines, resulting in a 21-hour gun battle where four were killed and scores wounded.

In conducting the zoning of the Alih compound, the Philippine Marines, a contingent of the AFP, clearly violated the law by not securing a search warrant from a judge. The soldiers who took part in the raid, their officers and whoever ordered the search should be court-martialed.

The widow of the deceased mayor, Mrs. Julfa Climaco, has categorically stated that she does not believe that the Alihs were behind the mayor's killing, contrary to the military theory. Since Mrs. Climaco would be the first person to want the murder to be solved, her exoneration of the Alihs should remove the prop from under the military theory.

The first suspect in the Climaco killing is the military stationed in Zamboanga City. The mayor had always been against the Marcos government, and had the courage to say so. He put up the mural for the murdered Ninoy Aquino on a wall of the Boy Scouts headquarters—a fact which led to a quarrel between him and Gen. Delfin Castro, Southcom commander. The late mayor was thus a sort of a thorn on the side of the Marcos government—a thorn that had to be extracted.

Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos, acting chief of staff, has pledged to do everything to solve the Climaco assassination. To pave the way for such solution, there is a need for the AFP unit based in Zamboanga City and headed by Gen. Castro, to be pulled out entirely and to be replaced with a new contingent. It will only be then that an honest-to-goodness investigation of the murder could start.

Unless this is done first, no credible probe can start, and the Climaco killing will remain in the lengthening files of unsolved murders.

#### Ramos Denies Rift

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 4 Dec 84 p 8

[Text]

ZAMBOANGA CITY, (PNA) — Acting Armed Forces Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Fidel V. Ramos yesterday said he finds no evidence of a Christian-Muslim rift in Zamboanga following the assassination of Mayor Cesar C. Climaco and the shootout between government troopers and a group of armed men in the heart of the city.

He gave this assessment after a meeting with top autonomous government, military and religious leaders here at the Southern Command headquarters this morning.

Ramos said these leaders assured him that rumors of a possible Christian and Muslim conflict are fanned by

irresponsible elements that could stand to profit if the city is embroiled in trouble.

The acting AFP chief of staff visited Zamboanga to check on the progress of the investigation on the killing of Climaco last November.

However, Ramos declined to elaborate on the progress of the investigation, except to say that witnesses available could soon solve the case.

It was noted that the main drawback in the investigation of the Climaco killing is the refusal of witnesses to execute sworn statements which will enable the task force to prosecute the killers in court.

More suspects have been named, but the task force is working on angles that could lead to the identity of the killer.

On the Nov. 25 shoot-out between government troopers and a group led by a suspended patrolman which left four persons killed, and 11 wounded, Ramos also said a team from the Criminal Investigation Service (CIS) is still investigating the case.

Ramos said the CIS is looking into the possibility of filing charges against the armed men, ranging from illegal possession of firearms to unauthorized grouping.

Ramos also stressed that the military will strictly enforce a firearms ban in the city to prevent illegal gunholders from bringing in guns and possibly commit crime.

He said the military is discussing the possibility of preventing the carrying of long arms inside the city proper and limiting firearms to handguns.

He also said that the conduct of zoning operations to flush gun-toters and the setting up of checkpoints is according to Gen. Order. 66.

CSO: 4200/268

## MALAYA REPORTS 'FAKE' NPA MASS SURRENDER

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 1 Dec 84 p 2

[Article by Joel Paredes]

[Text]

Last Nov. 13, about 60 farmers of barrio Kita-Kita, San Jose, Nueva Ecija were invited by Gen. Jose Magno, Central Luzon's Regional Unified Command chief, for an unusual ceremony.

The farmers, billed as "New People's Army (NPA) rebels," were made to "surrender" to Magno, the whole event recorded by government television as "a significant trend in the military's counter-insurgency campaign."

After the ceremony, the farmers were ordered released and went back to their homes.

It was fear that prompted the farmers to come down from their huts to the town to the farcical pledging of their loyalty to the public. It was also fear of harassment and intimidation by the military which drove about 21 families to evacuate from the mountain sites of Calocan and Aurelio Reyes.

Six families evacuated to nearby Carranglan town while the others moved from their mountain farms to the irrigation sites. Many residents of Barrio Kita-Kita are preparing for another mass evacuation in the wake of their "mass surrender."

These events prompted a church-backed fact-finding mission led by the Philippine Conference for Human

Rights (PCHR) last week to try to determine the extent of military abuses in Nueva Ecija.

The mission documented a total of 13 cases of human rights violations ranging from "salvaging," (summary execution) disappearances, arbitrary arrest and detention, mass arrests, and fake mass surrenders as well as a dawn raid on one barrio. All these abuses occurred this year.

In Barrio Sibul, Talavera, the fact-finding mission found that more than 50 residents were rounded up by PC troopers and assembled at the barrio plaza fronting the elementary school shortly before the Barrio Kita-Kita "surrender."

The residents claimed they were made to sign papers and raise their right hand to indicate their "loyalty to the government."

The barrio folk, however, denied being surrenders, and being NPA rebels in the first place. "We are law abiding citizens," one of the residents told the fact-finding mission. They also denied being companions of a captured NPA commander, identified only as Commander Lucero, as claimed by the military.

Since the alleged mass surrender, a detachment of the 126th PC company was set up at Barrio Sibul as "protection for the barrio

people."

The 57 men rounded up for questioning by the 126th PC company during an early morning raid on Barrios Sibul, Collado and Bantug, last Sept. 11, however, were not asked to "surrender." Instead, they were interrogated and photographed in Guimba town and released two days later, only after Mayor Marcelo Diaz and a barangay captain vouched for their innocence.

The fact-finding mission gathered that Gregorio Ayunga, a farmer, was arrested last Oct. 16 and continued to be detained without charges at the PC headquarters in Guimba. Ayunga's wife, Erlinda, testified that the military ousted her husband although the military claimed he voluntarily surrendered.

Another farmer Tumin-dao Oria, 21, has been under military custody at the San Jose City jail since March 13. It was gathered that Oria was tortured and forced to sign a statement admitting he was an NPA rebel after being nabbed by PC plainclothesmen.

Romeo Calague, 18, of Barrio Palo, Bongabon town, and three others were arrested by six Cabanatuan city policemen while they were having a snack last Sept. 20. Later, the fact-

finding mission reported, that Calague was shot three times in the body and neck, with the military claiming that he was an NPA rebel and drug pusher in that town.

Calague's killing that of a townsman, Jose dela Cruz, and the latter's wife Perilita, who was then five months pregnant. The couple was gunned down by PC troops in Atate, Palayan City, last June 7. Also believed killed with the dela Cruz couple was Danilo Deldoc, whose body was never recovered.

Their companion, Reynaldo Yandoc, witnessed how the three were abducted by armed men last May 20 along United Nations avenue in Manila. Yandoc has disappeared and his wife expressed fears that he was also abducted by the military.

These cases of military abuses, the fact-finding mission analyzed later, is the effect of alleged militarization of the province.

Figures gathered by the fact-finding mission show that at least 18 towns are now occupied by the PC troops while 7 others have been penetrated by army troops. A Nueva Ecija town, Laur, is the site of the Army's Fort Magsaysay which is said to contain as many as 10,000 troops.



PAPER REPORTS ACTIVITIES OF 'RIGHTIST TERROR GROUP' IN DAVAO

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 2 Dec 84 pp 1, 6

[Article by Marlen Ronquillo]: "2,000 Mandug Folk Flee Wrath of Ex-MNLF Rebs"]

[Text]

Close to 2,000 people have started fleeing from a banana plantation on the outskirts of Davao City following the killing of three labor unionists.

The evacuees have pitched camp near the Davao City Hall and joined fellow refugees who earlier fled from other rural areas in the city to escape the wrath of a terror group based there.

The evacuees, mostly workers of a banana plantation run by the Lapanday Development Corp. located just outside the highly-urbanized portions of Davao City, brought along their families and precious belongings in their flight.

"They walk, ride jeeps or buses. They are a really frightened group," a report reaching the Manila offices of the Kilusang Mayo Uno said.

The mass evacuation was triggered by the killing of three plantation workers, all members of the Lapanday Workers Union, and a reign of terror blamed on a rightist group called People's Liberation Organization (PLO).

Killed in a spate of plantation killings which started late October were Verano Gumba, Apolinar Jacosalem and Eduardo Banados.

The mangled and bullet-ridden bodies of the three workers were all recovered in isolated areas not very far from the plantation.

Gumba's body was found last Oct. 25, floating under a hanging bridge of the plantation while Jacosalem was shot dead on Oct. 31, while Jacosalem was shot dead on Oct. 31, while about to board his 10-wheeler truck.

Banados was executed by four heavily-armed men at Farm 2 of the plantation last Nov. 5. Banados was earlier arrested by PLO members but was released after his abductors could not prove his supposed ties with the NPA rebels.

An update of terrorism in Davao City sent to the KMU also said the PLO headed by one Kapitán Ingo have herded the Lapanday plantation workers like animals early October to warn them to cut off their

alleged ties with subversive.

The report said, the PLO members have been telling the workers that they were given the blanket power to patrol the plantation sites, interrogate and intimidate workers at the slightest pretext.

On Oct. 16, 7 Lapan-day workers were arrested by the PLO but were released after a routine interrogation. The release order carried no signature of the PLO officer who ordered their arrest and subsequent release but was typed under a letter head saying, "People's Liberation Organization, Armed Forces of Justice, Office of the Chairman."

The workers arrested were Pruto Cagas, Agustin Ceballos, Luceno Magadan, Jose Gumalawen, Gusino Bunados, and two others surnamed Quebral and Julieto.

The PLO is suspected to be behind the killing of journalist and opposition leader Alexander Orcullo, also the barangay captain of Mandug, Davao City.

Orcullo's constituents have also fled Mandug, which covers parts of the plantation site, because of the escalating conflict between rebels, on one hand, and the PLO and military units, on the other hand.

The evacuees from Lapanday's plantation sites, Orcullo's barangay and the nearby barangay of Tigatto, have posed a big problem to city authorities who have their hands full trying to solve the transport strike and the escalating violence in this premier Mindanao City.

Dispatches from Davao City said that transport strike was temporarily suspended the other day but left a deadly toll of 10 deaths and 400 people arrested.

Another big labor protest is scheduled in the city and is being organized by the militant Center for Mindanao Trade Unions.

The protest have lately assumed political color and have added the call to end the "US-Marcos dictatorship" in their primary demands.

CEBU PAPER HITS MILITARIZATION OF VISAYAS

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 3 Dec 84 pp 2, 4

[Text] Martial law has put us on the road to militarization. Without any serious threat to the military's power militarization is unstoppable. Unless violence of national proportion will rock the country into its senses.

Militarization started with the massive arrest and detention operation of hundreds of so called "political foes" of the Marcos regime. In the subsequent years, arrests and detentions continued and stayed. As the years went by, the number of arrest and detention cases rose. It went higher and higher until the quantitative change forced a qualitative change in the form of militarization. From arrests and detention, summary execution, commonly called salvaging emerged as the dominant form of militarization even as arrests and detention continued.

According to political analysts, the forms of militarization has rapidly changed since the start of the decade. From salvagings to hamletting to massacres to war tactics, like bombings, aerial bombings, aerial straffing, shellings and the likes to terrorize the populace.

In the Visayas, there is marked difference in the levels and forms of militarization among the different provinces and islands. However, taking the region general, a qualitative change in militarization happened this year. It was arrests and detentions that marked last year's situation, and it is salvagings and outright killings this year.

The general trend emerges not from the number of cases involved but in the pervasiveness of the cases and its increase from the last year's number of cases. There has been a marked increase in the number of salvagings and outright killings since last year while the cases of arrests and detentions were just on the average.

This year's data, however, could only account for the months of January to June. Even then, it showed the heightening of militarization in this region.

Subregional trends also presented interesting signs. In Samar, militarization cases are going down, while in Leyte arrests have increased. Cebu and Bohol have showed signs of a little militarization with the arrests of 59 in Cebu

and a salvaging case in Bohol and outright killing in Cebu. It is in Negros and Panay, that salvag ngs and outright killing leaped high, as hanletting makes its way through in Aklan and Antique. Massacre introduced itself in Negros with the Langoni Nine.

The decrease of militarization cases in Samar has been linked with the decrease of the number of troops in Samar which have been deployed in other areas in the Visayas like Negros and Panay where military strength has been increased.

CSO: 4200/283

MILITARY LACKS FUNDS FOR CARE OF WOUNDED SOLDIERS

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 3 Dec 84 p 2

[Text]

The Armed Forces of the Philippines does not have specific allocation for the hospitalization of soldiers wounded in fighting terrorists, rebels, and criminal elements.

Malaya sources who refused to be identified said that hospitals could only charge the costs of treatment of wounded soldiers either to the Government Service Insurance System or the regional command.

Officials of private hospitals, particularly those in the so-called troubled areas, however, have complained of great difficulties in collecting payments from the GSIS or the patients' command headquarters.

It would normally take them at least six months to receive payments from the GSIS to cover for the hospitalization of the soldiers, they claimed.

In certain instances, the checks never arrived, they added.

The problem surfaced during the conference of the Philippine Hospital Association held last week at the Manila Midtown Ramada.

Gen. Evaristo Sanchez, chief of the V. Luna Hospital of the PAF, said he had brought the matter to the attention of Lt. Gen. Fidel V. Ramos, acting chief of staff of the AFP.

CSO: 4200/268

PC TAKES OPERATIONAL CONTROL OVER TWO BACOLOD TOWNS

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 4 Dec 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Edgar Cadagat]

[Text] BACOLOD CITY--Police forces of two towns in the Metro Bacolod area, Murcia and Talisay, have been placed under the operational control of the 331st PC Company based in Bacolod City.

Military authorities said the placing of the police forces of the two towns under their control was part of the intensified drive against insurgency in the province, particularly in those areas.

Capt. Ismael Jorda, a former detachment commander of the PC in Don Salvador Benedicto town, was assigned as Murcia Station commander. There was no replacement yet for Talisay town.

Murcia and Talisay are administratively part of the Metro Bacolod area. Murcia is only 16.3 kilometers east of Bacolod, while Talisay is 7.3 kilometers north of the city.

Murcia was the scene of the Oct. 21 bloody slaying of Station Commander Santiago Besina, who according to the military, was liquidated by the NPA's sparrow unit. Sangguniang Bayan member, Francis Salgado, died along with Besina.

The military says the town has steadily become an infiltration point for insurgents and Jorda's task is to strengthen and reorganize the Murcia INP.

Meanwhile, in a talk with members of the First Farmers' Association, PC Provincial Commander Col. Arnulfo Obillos pointed out that the number one problem of society today is "none other than criminality and subversion."

Obillos stressed that the provincial command's program is not only to apprehend those creating trouble in the province, but also to identify and "break up the structure and mass-based support of the CPP-NPA."

The ranking military officer also informed the planters that armed groups conducting raids of sugar farms have been identified as "those of the NPA," and these are already operating within the jurisdiction of the Metro Bacolod Police District.

During the past weeks, several sugar farms in Bacolod and Murcia were raided by armed men, some of them in fatigue uniforms, resulting in the confiscation of several firearms. The latest arms confiscation incident occurred in barangay Tabunan, Bago City, where 24 fatigue-clad armed men introducing themselves as NPA members raided the rice farm of businessman Andres Genito, Jr.

Bago police said the armed men took away four firearms and ammunitions, a radio hand set and a calculator from the office.

Two weeks ago, three watchmen in an hacienda owned by Buenaventura Colmenares in Hinigaran town also died when they were blown off with grenades thrown by four unidentified armed men.

CSO: 4200/268



## MARCOS DAUGHTER QUOTED ON CONTROVERSIAL FILM CENTER

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA Sunday Supplement in English 18 Nov 84 p 7

[Article by Mario V. Dumauual]

[Text]

A story is told of how the charming Imee Marcos, director general of the Experimental Cinema of the Philippines (ECP) and daughter of President and Mrs. Marcos, once stupefied, with an off-the-cuff remark, a group of movie folk—when the ECP was still in its organizational stage early 1982.

It was said to have been at the Forbes Park house of ECP deputy director general John Litton when Imee, almost listlessly, absentmindedly said that the "ECP was created mainly to justify the controversial and expensive infrastructure that was the Manila Film Center."

The ECP since then has certainly made a home of the Parthenon-like structure, which was built on the blood of 49 or so Filipino construction workers, who were buried either dead or alive in the mad frenzy to finish it in time for the opening of the Manila International Film Festival (MIFF) 82. To this day, the film body has yet to convince the general public of one important thing: the validity of its existence.

It is difficult to assess, reconcile the achievements of ECP (which was created by President Marcos through Executive Order 770) and the serious contradictions it has heaped on the Filipino film industry; but the roots of its confusion must lie somewhere in those dark, tentative days when the president's eldest daughter herself was not confident about the task she had been suddenly

saddled with.

The ECP was to have revolutionized the public viewing and appreciation of films outside the mainstream of commercial cinema. Instead, it has caused distortions and disorientations not only among the moviegoing public but also filmmakers, particularly in the realm of censorship.

It is a great paradox of our times that what is shown at the plush Film Center must also be taboo or unlawful outside it.

While producers/distributors are marvelling at the money their so called "erotic oeuvres" are raking at the Center, and while viewers who can spare P25 to P50 per ticket are relishing the debauchery and the nude bodies of Isabel Lopez and Sarsi Emmanuelle in such films as "Isla," "Snake Sisters" the censors are seizing prints of "Hayop sa Sarap," "Take Home Girls" and closing and padlocking hapless Metro Manila/provincial theaters showing less explicit bold films.

This confusing state of affairs has of course all been discouraging to filmmakers and craftsmen who only seek fairness and equal treatment under the censorship law and who need the assurance that censorship guidelines will not be contoured to the interests of powerful film groups with ECP tie-ups.

They had to face the fact that not every filmmaker who wants to avoid the scissors of censors chief Maria Kalaw Katigbak can hide under the skirt of Imee Marcos. Not all producers

who want to show their wares at the Film Center can do so unless they have brokers or connections with ECP management. Celso Ad Castillo's "Isla" was billed as "an ECP presentation," though it was produced by Viva Films. Its commercial success was such that it was said to have bankrolled huge operating costs of the center. Short filmmaker Tikoy Aguiluz and company skinflick, "Boatman" with Sarsi Emmanuelle will reportedly be shown this week at the main theater.

In 1982, when the ECP showed Romy Ching's "Mga Uod at Rosas," Katigbak bitterly denounced this double standard policy when she berated the ECP for showing what she termed as commercial films before their regular run.

Under Executive Order 770, the ECP is empowered to show only films it has produced, imported or donated to it.

That controversy, which triggered a brief word war between Litton and Katigbak, however has since died down. We have yet to hear the censors chief question the transaction that was made between the "ECP presentation" that is "Isla" and Vic del Rosario's Viva Films.

Adding to the censorship distortions is the ECP's alleged violation of its very own "no-censorship" charter.

Although it has fostered the production and promotion of such serious Filipino films as "Soltero" and the internationally renowned "Oro, Plata, Mata" and "Himala," some censorship developments have likewise discouraged filmmakers. The cases of Ishmael Bernal's "Manila By Night" and Behn Cervantes "Sakada" for instance are still fresh in the mind.

The ECP and MIFF officials failed to lift the ban on "Manila" and "Sakada" in the Focus on Filipino Film section held at the Film Center. This was reported by Lino Brocka and Mike de Leon in their letter of regrets to the 1983 Italian Film Festival (which they did not attend due to disturbing political events in the country).

Then too, is the case of Abbo dela Cruz's *Misteryo sa Tuwa*, a first prize winner in the ECP scriptwriting contest (which tells in part how the military corps scrambled for the possession of a

cachet of valuables in an airplane crash in a mountain village), which was reportedly censored and revised in accordance with the recommendations of military authorities. The film has been awaiting release since December 1983.

Concerned groups are definitely for less censorship but clearly, the inconsistency and schizophrenia in censorship policies, as exemplified by certain ECP practices, plus its "anomalous" co-existence with the censors board, can no longer be a tolerable affair. The censorship issue in the country can no longer remain in an endless state of confusion and contradiction, in and outside the ECP.

The ECP's indispensability in giving institutional support to filmmakers admittedly cannot be underplayed. In addition to the incentives its film production-alternative cinema department has given to filmmakers like Gallaga, Bernal, Pio de Castro, Ricardo Lee, De la Cruz and other budding filmmakers, the ECP has given tremendous efforts in the discovery and nurturing of the dying breed of young short filmmakers. One has only to see the bumper harvest of creative young talents (such as Raymond Rod, Nick de Ocampo, Raissa Roque and others) in the successful Second ECP Annual Short Film Festival.

Unfortunately, what seems to have been forgotten in the business of supporting new filmmakers are the filmgoers. It is apparent that the ECP programming department has failed in developing a regular audience that would appreciate the output of these new filmmakers. What indeed has the ECP to crow about audience development?

ECP officials have said once that the film body is earnestly working on the "institutionalization" of film awareness among Filipinos, one that is conscious of Filipino heritage and all that jazz. Instead, it has, through its very regular skinflick fare, institutionalized awareness of erotic films in the minds of the public, especially the youth.

ECP insiders themselves admit that of all their movie treats, from


Filipino classics, sci-fic, cartoons, horror, etc., erotic films have elicited the greatest patronage and made the biggest money at the box office.

Even movie producers who are familiar with the taste and appetite of the Film Center audience would tell you that there's gold in bold at ECP's Manila Film Center.

Regrettably, all these have only sullied the reputation of the institution. Nowadays, the Film Center image that is conjured in the minds of the moviegoing public is not a Film Center for serious "quality" films but a film center for "FF," blue films, pornography.

But what is more regrettable is how movie folk themselves have of late downgraded the ECP and the Film Center. Perhaps two of moviedom's sexpots, in two separate interviews recently, sum this all up.

On her debut at the center, Isabel Lopez had this to say: "Next time gagawa ako ng pelikulang pang-sine at pang-probins'ya. Alam mo naman dito sa 'tin pag na-identify ka sa Film Center, nakakahiya ka."

And Carmi Martin, explaining why she has not been baring lately like her contemporaries: "Tatlong offers nga ang tinanggap ko — pero lahat pang-ECP... definitely 'di ako gagawa ng pang-ECP lang. 

BRIEFS

ADDITIONAL AIRCRAFT FOR PAF--A program to boost the Philippine Air Force is being implemented, in line with the government's plan to strengthen the country's defenses. This was said by Philippine Air Force Major General Vicente Piccio at a command meeting held at Villamor airbase. He said the Air Force will acquire additional airplanes and helicopters to be used in the country's rebel-infested areas. Piccio said that the spare parts for these air planes, which he requested from general headquarters of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, will arrive soon. [Text] [Dagupan City DZDL Radio in Tagalog 0445 GMT 21 Dec 84 HK]

JAPAN AIDS TELECOMMUNICATIONS PROJECT--The national telecommunications commission [NTC] has launched a big development project in 14 provinces in northern Luzon. According to NTC Commissioner Ceferino Carreon, the project, which will cost more than 7 billion pesos, has been made possible with aid from Japan. Modern equipment to boost telephone, telegraph, and radio services will be installed in towns in the provinces of Abra, Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, La Union, Benguet, Mountain Province, Pangasinan, Bataan, Cagayan, Isabela, Kalinga-Apayao, Nueva Vizcaya, and Quirino. [Text] [Dagupan City DZDL Radio in Tagalog 0455 GMT 21 Dec 84 HK]

HYBRID SEEDS TO VIETNAM--The Philippines has donated 10,000 kilos of hybrid palay to Vietnam as a gesture of friendship and cooperation. The donation also included 100 kilos of ipil-ipil [a fast-growing tree] seeds. Vietnamese Agriculture Minister Nguyen Ngoc Triv said that the seeds will be used in Vietnam's experimental farms. The seeds, he said, are expected to help boost Vietnam's food production. [Text] [Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in Tagalog 1000 GMT 19 Dec 84]

INFLATION RATE DECLINING--The country's inflation rate has gone down by one percent in the past 45 days, according to Economic Planning Minister Vicente Valdepenas. He said he hoped that the rate would continue to decline by one percent every 10 days. Valdepenas added that chances are good for the inflation rate to remain at 55 percent for the month of December. He attributed the decline of the inflation rate to stable prices of prime commodities and to the diminished threat of devaluation. [Text] [Dagupan City DZDL Radio in Tagalog 0445 GMT 20 Dec 84]

INTEREST PAYMENT DELAY--INTEREST installments on the country's foreign debts have been kept current with a 60-day lag. Central Bank officials say the 60-day lag was acceptable to the foreign banks, particularly, American institutions, which are required by their monetary authorities to make sure that loan arrears do not exceed 90-days, otherwise, these would be classified as non-performing and subject to certain sanctions. [Text] [Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 28 Nov 84 p 18]

FIVE SUSPECTED REBELS DIE--Five Suspected rebels were reported killed while two soldiers were injured in an encounter Wednesday in Digos, Davao del Sur. Killed in the gunbattle between the two groups were Alfredo Tubanao alias Saudi, Rodolfo Parantar, Arnold Morales, and two others identified only as alias Edwin and alias Brix, all members of the Armed City Partisan Unit. Wounded were Sgt. Venancio Senada and Constable 2nd Class Hadjilani Halis, both PC troopers. The government troops recovered from the scene of the encounter two .45 caliber pistols, one 9 mm cal. pistol, and one .38 cal. revolver. The soldiers were reportedly on routine patrol when they spotted the ACPU group along Lapulapu extension. [Text] [Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 1 Dec 84 pp 1, 6]

ILOILO CLASH KILLS THREE--ILOILO CITY (AFP)--Four people died when patrolling security forces traded fire with Communist guerrillas near Igaras town in Iloilo province Saturday night, an army spokesman said. The gunfight started when the security forces surprised a 15-man band of Communist guerillas who were about to attack a troop detachment, the spokesman added. Three of the guerrillas and one civilian militiaman were killed in the 30-minute clash, he said. [Text] [Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 3 Dec 84 p 1]

CSO: 4200/268

## THAILAND

### UN ENVOY DISCUSSES AID FOR KAMPUCHEAN REFUGEES

BK080632 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 8 Dec 84 p 3

[Text] Donor countries have pledged to provide 398.7 million baht in aid for Kampucheans next year, the Foreign Ministry said yesterday.

The pledges from the United States, Japan, Britain, West Germany, China, Malaysia, Brunei, Sweden, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, and the European Community were made at the United Nations on 28 November.

Most of the aid is for international relief organisations working on the Thai-Kampuchean border and the remainder for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR].

About seven million baht in food and medicines was pledged by the EEC for emergency programme and the largest donation is from Japan which pledged 42,000 tons of Thai rice worth about 270 million baht and 112 tons of wheat.

Thai permanent representative M. L. Phiraphong Kasemsi told the United Nations there were conflicting reports by relief organisations about the refugee situation along the border and the budgetary assessment for next year.

He said the situation report carried an implied threat to cut aid to Kampuchean refugees in camps not directly accessible to the organisations.

M. L. Phiraphong said more funds were needed for refugees if Hanoi's dry season campaign against the resistance forces was prolonged.

He also criticized the International Committee of the Red Cross for not mentioning the recent Vietnamese attacks on Nong Chan which sent more than 20,000 refugees across the border.

The envoy also raised doubts about coordination between the UNHCR and the World Health Organization in distributing medicine to refugees.

CSO: 4200/263

THAILAND

PREM DECLINES COMMENT ON RESHUFFLE REPORT

BK080218 Bangkok THE NATION REVIEW in English 8 Dec 84 p 3

[Text] Premier Gen Prem Tinsulanon smiled and shook his head yesterday when asked for comments on a press report about a Cabinet reshuffle in the near future. "You always try to trick me," he said with a smile, referring to preceding questions unrelated to the report about the Cabinet reshuffle.

General Prem appeared to be in a good mood but declined to answer any questions about the reshuffle report.

Most Cabinet members on Thursday expressed surprise at the report.

Premier Prem will preside tomorrow over the inauguration of the construction of a bridge which will link mainland Songkhla with Y<sup>1</sup> Island in Songkhla Lagoon.

Prem said the construction of the bridge had already started.

When asked whether he will visit flood victims in the south after the inauguration, he said: "I don't think so because I will have to hurry back for the Construction Day." [10 December]

CSO: 4200/263



## THAILAND

### THAI PAPER REPORTS EC PROTESTS NONG CHAN ATTACKS

BK090138 Bangkok THE NATION REVIEW in English 9 Dec 84 p 2

[Text] The European Community (EC) late last week lodged a protest note with Hanoi over the Vietnamese attacks on the civilian encampment at Nong Chan. The diplomatic action came after Britain, Belgium, the United States, Canada, Japan and individual ASEAN countries had issued statements deploring the Vietnamese dry season offensive.

Informed sources told THE NATION that on instruction by EC President Dr Garret Fitzgerald, currently Irish prime minister, the Italian ambassador in Hanoi last week submitted the letter to Vietnamese authorities. The Italian envoy was charged with the mission on behalf of the EC presidency because Ireland does not have an accredited ambassador to Hanoi.

The EC president expressed concern over the Vietnamese military attacks on Nong Chan refugee encampment on grounds that the military adventures affected the innocent civilian population and urged the Vietnamese to cease the military operations, according to the sources.

The sources said that reactions from Thailand's friends toward the Vietnamese offensive were by far satisfactory and that Thailand do not expect such countries as Australia, regarded as more hospitable to Hanoi, to issue statements against Vietnam over the Nong Chan battles because the situation there was still not very serious. "Australia could later issue such a statement if the situation becomes serious," one source said. The sources also made the point that Thailand's friends issued the individual statements against the Vietnamese offensive without any actuation from Bangkok.

The countries of Japan, the United States, Canada, Britain and Belgium issued the statements about one or two weeks after the Vietnamese had launched the all-out attack on Nong Chan encampment, which houses about 20,000 Khmer refugees and was run by the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF), on 18 November, according to the sources.

Meanwhile, First Army Region Commander Lt Gen Phichit Kunlawanit told reporters that Vietnamese troops, estimated at about 300-500, who were entrenched at Nong Chan encampment are believed to have pulled out of the camp. The KPNLF radio monitored in Aranyaprahut claimed Friday that they had retaken the camp from the Vietnamese, but no independent confirmation was available.

Lt Gen Phichit theorised that the Vietnamese had to pull out their troops because of stepped-up military harassments by Khmer resistance guerrillas in the rear lines.

He said that the Vietnamese had planted landmines at Nong Chan before their reported retreat.

Field reports reaching Bangkok yesterday said that Vietnamese gunners yesterday morning pounded the encampment, restricting the movements of the resistance guerrillas.

The regional commander said the Vietnamese sustained both political and military losses from their operations at Nong Chan. He cited an unconfirmed report as saying that a field commander attached to the Ninth Division was killed in the battles for Nong Chan.

An informed source said that it was not confirmed last Friday whether in fact the Vietnamese troops had withdrawn from the camp. He described the KPNLF military operations last Monday and Wednesday as harassment actions which were also aimed at finding out whether all the Vietnamese troops had retreated from their dugouts in the camp.

He said that a conservative estimate put the death toll on the Vietnamese troops at about 100 and on the Khmer side at about 25 since the Vietnamese launched the attacks on Nong Chan, 18 November.

The source said that the Vietnamese had earlier pulled out some troops of the Ninth Division, employed in the attacks on Nong Chan, from the camp to the rear bases in Battambang and Siem Reap in what the Khmer Rouge claimed to be a consequence of their stepped-up military harassments in the two provinces. The pull-out left the strength of the Vietnamese troops entrenched at Nong Chan to about 300-500.

However, the source confirmed that the Khmer Rouge did step up military harassments in the rear lines in the two provinces a couple of days after the Vietnamese attack on Nong Chan.

The aim of the Khmer Rouge rear actions is to cut off the flow of logistic supplies from the rear lines to the front line.

Thai authorities are looking forward to an escalation of the Khmer Rouge activities to include the sabotaging of Vietnamese ammo warehouses and oil depots as they did in the last dry-season offensive.

However, an intelligence source told THE NATION that the guerrillas would face more problems in pursuing this strategy because the Vietnamese had fortified their military positions and arsenals as well as ammo and oil depots.

"The Vietnamese have introduced a new-type fortification at their garrisons by building their warehouses and depots in the middle of a high area where trees have been felled and which is surrounded by dugouts," he told THE NATION.

The source also noted that the Ninth Division is actually among the four Vietnamese divisions deployed in the inner area and was employed for the first time this year in the dry-season offensive close to the frontier. The Vietnamese have deployed six other divisions along the border area to pin down the resistance movements.

## BRIEFS

**THAI-FRG TRADE FIGURES**--Thailand enjoyed a trade surplus of over 4,000 million baht with West Germany during the first 9 months of this year, representing an increase of 14 percent compared to the same period last year. According to Thai commercial counselor in Bonn, Mr Pracha Charutrakunchai, the total trade value between the two countries during the period amounted to 17,000 million baht. Of this amount, Thai exports stood at 10,600 million baht while German exports to Thailand during the same period stood at 6,400 million baht. Major Thai export items to West Germany during the first 9 months of this year included tapioca pellets, frozen seafood and canned seafood, as well as canned pineapple, rice, and tobacco. Thailand, during the same period, imported malt, fertilizer, chemicals, medicines, plastic and chemical products, machinery and machine tools, electrical goods, motorcars, and steel products. [Text] [Bangkok Domestic Service in English 0000 GMT 7 Dec 84 BK]

**TRADE WITH UK**--Trade between Thailand and Britain this year is expected to grow by about 10-15 percent over 1983, according to M. R. Kiattikhun Kitayakon, Thai commercial counsellor in London, a Thai official said yesterday. Thailand's exports to Britain last year totaled 13 million pounds (about 422.5 million baht), down from 17 million pounds (about 552.5 million baht in 1982). He added that a British trade mission representing eight firms, which recently visited Thailand, has bought about 1.95 million baht worth of garments. He said the eight firms planned to place more orders, estimated at about 97.5 million baht, for canned foods, mosquito nets, military tents and sweaters. In a related development, it was learned that the British firms had also discussed with Thai exporters the possibilities of purchasing military uniforms worth about 54 million baht. [Excerpts] [Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 4 Dec 84 p 21 BK]

**DUMPING UNTESTED DRUGS**--The House Environmental Committee will call a meeting to discuss reported moves in the United States which could lead to the dumping of untested drugs in the Third World. Committee chairman Akhom Sonsuchat said student representatives and U.S. Embassy officials would also be invited to the meeting. The meeting will allow people involved to exchange views and information in connection with the reported move in the U.S. Congress, he said. Doctors and students have voiced strong opposition to the planned move, but Mr Akhom said he doubted Washington would allow untested drugs to be dumped on Third World markets. In any case, he said, no Third World countries would allow the Americans to go ahead with the reported move. [Text] [Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 12 Dec 84 p 5]

SRV TROOPS KILLED--Ten Vietnamese soldiers died for every Kampuchean guerrilla killed in 22 days of fighting for a key insurgent camp near the Thai-Kampuchean border. This was reported yesterday. Vietnamese troops shelled the Nong Chan camp while KPNLF [Khmer People's National Liberation Front] guerrillas attempted to clear land mines planted by Hanoi forces before they abandoned the base last week. Vietnamese forces attacked the important KPNLF base at Nong Chan on 18 November. Despite losing their key border stronghold to Hanoi occupation troops, the Khmer People's National Liberation Front managed to kill 10 Vietnamese soldiers for every 1 of their own who died, the report said. The Vietnamese suffered more than 300 killed and 130 wounded in the 22 days of fighting ending yesterday, compared with only 32 Khmer guerrillas killed and 147 wounded, the report said. [Text] [Bangkok Voice of Free Asia in English 1030 GMT 10 Dec 84]

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## MILITARY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### SMUGGLED GOODS FOUND ON RETURNING SHIPS

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 30 Oct 84 p 4

[Article by Mai Anh of the newspaper TUOI TRE: "Smuggling Discovered Aboard Three Ships"]

[Text] From 17 to 20 October 1984, three ships, H, N and T, arrived at the Zero Buoy off Vung Tau after voyages to foreign countries. The people informed the customs agency that aboard the ships was an extremely large volume of contraband goods.

The Ho Chi Minh City Customs Branch Office directed the Communist Youth Union to prepare forces for a mission. The Customs Communist Youth Union Executive Committee decided to immediately formulate a plan to counter smuggling on the three ships. The inspection chapter and supervision subchapter with 51 youth union members were assigned a mission on the ships.

Seeking out an extremely large amount of contraband goods on a ship of a few thousand tons with many nooks and crannies is an extremely arduous and difficult job. Nevertheless, the young friends in the customs branch office, filled with revolutionary courage, enthusiastically and cleverly sought out the hidden goods. Beginning in the engine room of Ship N, the first lots of contraband goods were pulled out. The total value of contraband goods discovered amounted to tens of millions of dong.

The stratagems of a number of sailors for hiding contraband goods were extremely ingenious: in fire extinguishers, the galley, freight holds, ventilation shafts, oil containers, bow water compartments, the anchor well, passenger cabins, under refrigerators, under goods being legally transported in accordance with a contract, etc.

For 5 continuous days and nights, 51 youth union members fervently worked to complete the search of all three ships and to discover all the contraband goods. A number of sailors on the ships admitted they had taken 200 taels of gold out of the country to trade in contraband goods.

These new achievements of the customs branch office communist youth union members contributed toward efforts to actively resist speculation, smuggling and a degenerate and deviant way of life while simultaneously questioning the management responsibility of the ocean going vessels above.

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## MILITARY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### MEDIUM DUPES SUPERSTITIOUS FEMALE ENGINEER

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 31 Oct 84 p 4

[Article by Do Quang: "A Swindle by Superstition, Divination"]

[Text] The woman's name was Bui Thi Chi, 50 years old from Van Huong Alley in Dong Da District of Hanoi--commonly called "Medium Chi" by those attending her seances.

Ten years ago, quitting her job in a cooperative to sell sugarcane and fruit baskets in the Phan Phu Tien Market, Chi made up a story that from a well she had dug in the garden of a house she had just bought, an old man with a white beard and hair and dressed in a brown and grayish black garment had appeared to her in a dream, gave her four silver coins to foretell the future for the mortal world, and then disappeared. The story spread and she began foretelling the future for a living. At first, she told fortunes for the girls selling meat, the women selling fish and vegetables and others working in the market. Everyone having their fortune told had to give her cash, betel nut, flowers, bean cakes, rice flour cookies, etc. Besides those paying to have their fortune told, some "rewarded" her with bunches of fresh vegetables and fish with blood still in their gills. From this situation of working only for food, Chi began to fish for and attract a number of urbanites and merchants to her newly constructed home to watch her become possessed and hear a "sage" speak. She appeared to be very formal, displaying incense bowls, bells, tocsins, amulets, sacrificial memorials, money for the departed, etc. It was extremely expensive for the medium to prepare offerings for the spirits and cash and presents for her believers.

Medium Chi's place of spirit worship had only been established for a very short time when some of her accomplices decoyed and brought to her a girl named Kieu Van of Gach Alley in Hang Buon Ward. Kieu Van was a machine assembly engineer and an accomplished organist who did well at her job, earning periodic letters of commendation. Learning of the girl's situation and unusual affinity through several individuals earning a living by religion, Medium Chi committed not one error in her fortune telling. Van felt afraid and believed in the sorceress. Knowing that Van's family was moderately well off and that her parents pampered her, the medium commanded that Kieu Van diligently worship and attend seances before she could attain intelligence and health. Our medium herself led Van to seances in many locations and had her go into trances right in the house of the medium. Kieu Van had to spend a great deal of money for offerings and tribute and when she became "possessed," the medium foretold her future and told her



that her fate was to become a nun. The medium promised she would guide Kieu Van in becoming a nun in a large pagoda with much authority, a large salary and an extremely happy life. Because she was gullible, Engineer Kieu Van quit her job, cut her hair and became a nun. Medium Chi led Kieu Van to the doors of many pagodas in Hanoi and even to pagodas in Yen Bai. Before going to a pagoda to request entry as a nun, this devilishly clever medium told Kieu Van to take money or to sell some furniture for money in order to "be diplomatic" and to purchase offerings for the pagoda. Extorting a large amount of money and property without reaction from Kieu Van or her family, Medium Chi thought of a new ruse. She said that the destiny of Kieu Van was the "Million-Wall Army" and that Kieu Van was the son of the celestial court, not a girl at all. The celestial court had sent Kieu Van down to earth to marry the medium because the medium was incarnated Princess Bo and Kieu Van was responsible for helping Princess Bo, her beloved wife, to build a new place of worship on the second floor.

Worried, bewitched, confused and believing in the medium, Kieu Van brought many things such as a television set, bicycle, motorcycle, etc. to give to Chi. She also ignorantly sold her apartment, which her mother had bought for her on Hang Be Street, to obtain money to give to the medium. The medium also incited her into borrowing money from this person and that. The medium's family previously had a three-room house but thanks to trickery, she was able to construct a two-story home with five large rooms, one entire room on the second floor reserved for activities involving superstition, trances, evoking spirits, etc.

After the construction was completed, she continued to seek ways to pilfer property from the family of Kieu Van. She made up a story of a "debt transferred from generation to generation." The story was that the previous generation Kieu family owed the Bui family. The envoy of the Bui family was Bui Thi Chi who had a mission of tracking down the debt owed by the Kieu family whose representative was Kieu Van with a mission of settling this generation to generation debt with Chi. The medium said that if the debt was not paid, the girl's father, younger brother and other relatives would be completely destroyed and would join in the same fate as her dead mother. (The fact that Van's mother had died of grief did not stop the young girl from being led further and further onto the reckless path of superstition by Medium Chi in order to extort her property). When she had swindled and usurped a fairly large amount of property from the family of Kieu Van, including Van's organ, fur boots, tea set, etc., the medium used a new stratagem aimed at both deceiving the world and continuing to extort anything more that could be extorted. She said that in order for Kieu Van to have the conditions for fully paying the generation to generation debt in order that outside parties and her family could avoid doubt and dissension, she must admit that she had pried open a cabinet and stolen 4 taels of gold from the medium and must now bring things to offset the debt. The medium told this story to everyone wherever she went and she wrote several letters to the father of Kieu Van demanding payment for the 4 taels of gold taken by his daughter.

Concerned about this generation to generation debt, Kieu Van practiced only vegetarianism, chanted the name of Buddha and drank only water for 3 continuous months in a small dark attic. Body withering and strength waning, she no longer had the strength to leave the house and all day long pressured her father



into taking the furniture in the house, including the rice pots, copper trays and enameled oil stove, to settle the debt with Medium Chi.

Squeezing juice out of a dry lemon, the property of Kieu Van's family was plundered by the medium until only the bowls were left. The time had come when this ignorant and utterly miserable female engineer had to be returned to the "kingdom of fairies and gods" with the purpose of destroying the evidence and stealing all the property of her family in an amicable manner so Bui Thi Chi artfully used the voice of the "sage" to command, "Kieu Van must repent for precisely 100 days, abusing her body in a hell on earth before she can hope to entirely erase the crimes of her previous life." During that 100 days, the "spirit" ate, drank and wore clothing only when commanded and was forbidden to leave her room.

Without clothing, Kieu Van spent night and day cowering "repentingly" in her small attic. After more than 10 days, she could not tell the difference between heads or tails. While the girl withered away and neared death, Medium Chi groped in to tell the girl and her family to thank her. She told the girl's younger brother, "Don't worry about a thing. When Kieu Van sees the receipt for her previous life's debt, she will recover her health immediately. However, to acquire that receipt, you need only bring me one-fifth tael of gold."

Bui Thi Chi was caught in the act of her final cheating and deceitful trick.

Taking Kieu Van to the hospital for treatment, the public security personnel of Hoan Kiem also acquired the final incriminating letter left by the girl for her relatives which complained about and cursed Medium Chi and listed the things that she had swindled and usurped from the family.

Cared for and saved by the hospital, Kieu Van returned to life, her health was restored and she again became clear-headed. On 26 October, Kieu Van denounced before the legal agencies the illegal and unscrupulous activities of Bui Thi Chi involving her and her family.

Bui Thi Chi was taken into custody. The Hoan Kiem public security forces recovered some of the scattered property which Chi had usurped from the family of Kieu Van.

We praise the public security forces of Hoan Kiem District for discovering and promptly illuminating this incident, teaching a profound lesson of many aspects and tolling an alarm bell for everyone, including those of high learning, who still ignorantly believes in destiny, physiognomy, deities and saints, and foolish superstition. At the same time, many questions have been raised about the local management responsibility in locations with pockets of superstitious activity. This is also a beneficial lesson for all sectors, circles, agencies, units and families to regularly give concern to educating and reminding everyone to lead a wholesome new way of life, to get rid of old habits of superstition and heresy and to eliminate social ills.

In her denunciation, Kieu Van reached the conclusion that anyone who still believes in mediums, fortune tellers and superstition should look at the circumstances of her and her family as an example and a consideration!

## PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

### VISITING SWEDISH REPORTER INTERVIEWS OFFICIALS, WORKERS, SOLDIERS

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 25 Nov 84 p 23

[Article by Tom Hansson: "Was This What They Fought For in Vietnam?"]

[Text] Nearly 10 years have passed since American forces left Vietnam. For the inhabitants of today's Vietnam, however, life is anything but good. Economic and social problems are great. These problems are made worse by Vietnam's diplomatic isolation and the invasion of Kampuchea. SVENSKA DAGBLADET visited northern and southern Vietnam, and today begins a series of reports from the country.

"The government ration provides only the most basic necessities, such as 13 kilos of rice per person per month. The only way to survive is to have extra work. Everybody has at least two or three jobs."

The rain is pouring down outside the little restaurant on Trang Tien Street in Hanoi. Twenty-seven-year-old Nguyen Thou laps up the last noodles in the bowl and orders another glass of the thin tasteless beer.

His comrades of the same age around the table nod their agreement. They have just eaten dinner after a day's work at the textile factory. In 15 minutes it will be time for the evening's extra job. Transporting vegetables on a bicycle, selling cigarettes, stamping out plastic slippers...

Over 30 years after the Viet Minh forces in May 1954 defeated the French at Dien Bien Phu--and shortly thereafter proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam--the difficulties of getting enough money is the central problem for the inhabitants of Vietnam.

"We have too many people," says La Xuan Dinh, director of the international cooperation branch of the Ministry of Agriculture in Hanoi. "Fifty-eight million inhabitants and a population growth of 2.2 percent per year. The goal is to bring that down to 1.7 percent."

On the plus side for today's--since nearly 10 years ago reunited--Vietnam there is certainly increased rice production, growing light industry and

increased tax revenues. But the minus side is dominant. Stagnating heavy industry, low energy production and a catastrophic foreign debt.

The greatest of all the problems is the foreign debt. The Hanoi Government today has 16 million dollars in its foreign reserves--insufficient for even two weeks' necessary imports. The total foreign debt exceeds 6 billion dollars, of which two-thirds are owed to the socialist bloc, with the Soviet Union in front.

"Last year we produced 17 million tons of food (rice). That is 300 kilo per person. We expect 18 million tons per year, but the goal is 400-500 kilo per person per year. So we are still a good distance behind the Soviet Union, which produces 600-700 kilos per person per year," says La Xuan Dinh.

With an average wage of 300 dong per month plus about 1,000 dong in government food subsidies, it does not go far. Not if one is forced to pay 310 dong for one kilo of sausage, between 20 and 100 dong for a cake of soap and 472 dong for a sweater.

#### Entirely Different Rules

These are the prices in Hanoi's government stores. On the free--or black--market there are entirely different rules.

"The government price for rice is low, 0.40 dong per kilo. But the allotment is only 13 kilos per person per month. If I want more I must purchase it on the market. There it costs 40 dong per kilo," says a young woman in Hanoi.

The black market reflects Vietnam's currency situation in a nutshell. The official exchange rate is 11.245 dong per dollar. People from the aid organizations get 13 dong, diplomats and people from "friendly nations" get 15 dong and Vietnamese with relatives abroad get 70 dong. With little effort, a trip to the black market yields about 240 dong to the dollar.

"The government does all it can to obtain foreign currency," says a man whose siblings live in France. "The post office opens all my letters, and sends the dollar bills to the bank. There is not much left."

In the government they say that the end of the war and reunification meant that they lost 2 billion dollars per year in aid. One billion from China to North Vietnam and 1 billion from the United States to the south. In reality, however, the aid from China did not stop before 1978.

At the same time Vietnam's military actions worsen the already strained economy. On paper the pay for the approximately 180,000 soldiers in Kampuchea amounts to only 10 million dollars per year. The cost for clothing and medicine amounts to about the same. Furthermore the Vietnamese soldiers in Kampuchea grow most of their own food. That is also true of the million man army in Vietnam.

"But it is obvious that we are suffering economically by being in Kampuchea," says Vo Van Sung, head of economic relations in the Foreign Ministry. "It is keeping many young men away from productive work here in Vietnam. But we are proud of what we did in Kampuchea."

The invasion of Kampuchea closed several doors to possible trade partners. As a direct result of the invasion, 175 million dollars in aid from western countries was withdrawn. The same thing happened to the 5-year aid program from China worth 900 million dollars.

Today Vietnam has only a few openings to the West. France is one example. Sweden is another. Swedish aid to Vietnam began at the start of 1971. At the end of the budget year 1983-84 the country had received a total of 3.6 billion kronor in aid. Most of the Swedish aid goes to the paper mill in Bai Bang (Vinh Phu).

#### Important Swedish Aid

"The Swedish aid is very important to us, since we are subject to such hard pressure from most of all the United States and China. But over 30 years of war has hardened us. We will not give in to either the United States or China," says Vo Van Sung.

The threat from China is a constantly recurring theme in conversations with politicians and government officials. North of Hanoi 148 kilometers in the town of Long Son there are still clear and consciously maintained remains of the Chinese punishment expedition in February 1979, when 200,000 Chinese soldiers penetrated across the border as a response to Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea.

"In April of this year they struck again. Chinese forces penetrated three kilometers of Vietnamese territory, and they still hold six strategically important heights on our side of the border."

Lieutenant Nguyen Tien Dung and his men guard a military post just outside the border town of Dong Dang. Since May of this year only occasional exchanges of fire have taken place, but Lieutenant Dung claims that the situation is tense despite everything.

"No, you may not enter Dong Dang. There has been no fighting since last spring, but one never knows what could happen. And there are so many Chinese spies and agents."

At the office of the people's committee in Lang Son, a flood of statistics was produced. Since February 1979 there have been 13 prisoner exchanges, the latest on 24 September of this year. Vietnam has sent 300 Chinese back across the border, but has only received 80 Vietnamese in return, of the 800 who were taken prisoner in 1979.

"The Chinese are also injuring us ideologically, using leaflets and loud-speakers, trying to arouse the minority people in the area. They are also trying to enlist the minority groups as agents by paying ten times the price for their products," says the representative of the people's committee, Phi Long.

#### Military Government...

Thirty percent of Vietnam's gross national product goes to defense. The military stamp hangs heavily over the entire Vietnamese society. According to a Dutch diplomat in Hanoi, Vietnam is "a country governed by the military, used to govern in a war economy."

The men who lead today's Vietnam belong to the Dien Bien Phu generation. People who successfully defeated the French, the Japanese and the Americans, and who succeeded in reuniting the country. But it is a political leadership which lacks the knowledge of how to develop the country economically--which is indicated by the fact that the 15-man politbureau does not contain a single economist--and is poorly equipped to create a modern nation.

A representative of the government is Hoang Tung. He is a Spartan man, as are the others in the leadership. After 5 years in prison for anti-French activity he joined the Communist Party in 1943 at age 23. After 30 years as a chief editor he is today, age 64, member of the important secretariat, subordinate to party secretary Le Duan.

"Yes, it is true that we have so far had too rigid government control of our economy," he says. "But the government can not control everything. Therefore we are now decentralizing decisionmaking to individual firms, we permit certain private trade and we try through the so-called contract system to develop agriculture."

It is precisely the contract system which can be said to have saved the Vietnamese economy. Briefly described, the farmers cultivate a certain portion for the account of the state, and the rest for their own use or for private sale. The system began at the party's sixth plenum at the end of 1979, with Minister of Planning Vo Van Kiet as its architect, and it has been heavily criticized by the conservatives within the party.

"There has been a debate about this question. As with the question of how much private trade should be permitted. But it is a question of our provisions, and differences of opinion must not be exaggerated," says Hoang Tung diplomatically.

Difficult economic and social problems force Vietnam to have good relations with the Soviet Union. During the first 5-year plan following the war (1976-1980), Soviet aid increased to 1.45 billion dollars. According to some calculations the real figure for economic and military aid should be 5.5 billion dollars.



The Soviets still give economic aid of over 1 billion dollars annually. East Europe provides an annual total of about 500 million dollars.

The Soviets also supply Vietnam with fuel, fertilizer and heavy equipment for industry. Soviet construction engineers are active on several projects.

"One problem, however, is that the Soviets are only helping us to build new factories, but they do not give us foreign currency to renovate the old," says Hoang Tung.

In the military area, the Soviets have delivered advanced helicopters of the type Mi24 Hind, Su22 fighter planes, tanks and anti-aircraft missiles.

In exchange the Soviets are invited to use the American-built deep harbor at Cam Ranh Bay, a welcome opportunity for their Pacific Fleet. It is said that 20-26 Soviet ships and 4-6 submarines operate from Cam Ranh Bay. According to the United States, there are also 9 Tu16 D Badger bombers operating from a nearby base in Vietnam. In April of this year 400 Soviet marines participated in a landing operation near Haiphong. This was the first known joint maneuvers involving Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet Union is the only nation which supported us from the beginning. But we have not given the Soviets base rights here. As an independent nation we can grant permission for Soviet ships and aircraft to come here," says Vo Van Sung at the Foreign Ministry in Hanoi.

#### Desire Contacts With the West

But even though the ideology of the Vietnamese Communist Party has much in common with the Soviet, there are few observers who believe that Vietnam would be ready to give up its sovereignty to get economic and military aid. There are also many indications that they desire to expand contacts with the West.

According to a delegation from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which visited Hanoi earlier this year, there is a standing instruction from the government to all government officials to expand contacts with countries outside of Comecon, and to encourage the formation of joint ventures with western companies. The only countries which have significant investments in Vietnam today are the Soviet Union and France.

A central element in the government's economic plan is the integration between northern and southern Vietnam. The idea is that the north will be the center of heavy industry, and the south will be an export zone for agricultural products and light industry.

But nearly 10 years after April 1975 when Vietnamese tanks blew the gates off the presidential palace in what was then Saigon, the economic and cultural differences between the north and south are still great.

Hanoi's rigid socialization program for the south at the end of the 70's did not make assimilation any easier. It was a program which included efforts to force through collectivization of agriculture, nationalization of industry and a ban on private trade.

#### Wrecked Economy

The result was a nearly wrecked economy and hundreds of thousands of boat refugees. At the same time an estimated 80,000 government officials and soldiers from the old regime were locked up in so-called reeducation centers. Some have been released over the years, but it is believed that about 10,000 still remain in the reeducation centers.

About 80 percent of the economy in the south, however, is still in private hands, and in the Mekong delta, the richest agricultural area in the country, 60 percent of the farming is done privately. And even though the government policy is to collectivize the south, they are now trying to find a middle road between the rigid policies of the 70's and what the party considered to be the all too tolerant policies carried out for a short time in the beginning of the 80's.

"We have a greater degree of independence from the government, for example we conduct a certain amount of export ourselves," says Vu Hac Bong, head of the branch of the Foreign Ministry in Ho Chi Minh City. "The differences between the north and the south should not be exaggerated. It is more a matter of differences in life style."

Certainly some of the life style of the south has found its way up to Hanoi--in the form of the occasional highly coveted jeans and Michael Jackson cassettes--but the differences are still impressive. The main streets Tu Do and Nguyen Hue in Ho Chi Minh City are filled late in the evenings with people out strolling and cycling. New Japanese motorcycles roar past, and the lines are long outside the movies and video shops. The cafes are full, and the prostitutes still patrol the most lucrative sections.

But little by little the official party policy is also invading this area. A massive increase in taxes on private business last year is forcing many shops and restaurants to close. At the beginning of the year the large free book market in Ho Chi Minh City was also closed. In addition there is the prohibition against so-called "yellow" music, certain films and other harmful cultural influences.

#### Trust Nobody

"The worst thing is still the growing totalitarian society," says a young woman. "Everybody is spied upon, and one does not dare trust anybody. Not even one's own children, who are urged by the authorities to report parents who are politically unreliable."



Half of former South Vietnam's party cadres were liquidated during the United States military operations, and today the imbalance between the north and the south is reflected in the membership statistics. Of the 1.7 million members of the Communist Party, an estimated 200,000-300,000 are in the south. Recruiting of new members in the south is slow.

The imbalance is also felt on a higher plane. It is estimated that between 25 and 35 percent of the members of the Central Committee are from the south, and 5 of the 15 members of the Politbureau.

The Hanoi Government's policy of moving people to so-called new economic zones has not been met with great enthusiasm. Hundreds of thousands of people were moved after the liberation of Saigon in 1975, and in December of last year the government announced that 120,000 people would be moved out of the Red River delta in the north and the Mekong delta in the south.

"My husband and I together earn 600 dong per month. We can just barely make it. But if I had a job and a place to live in the city I would return there," says 21-year-old Huynh Thi Dung in the new economic zone Nhi Xuan outside Ho Chi Minh City.

It is continuously repeated by the government in Hanoi and the local authorities in Ho Chi Minh City that there are no conflicts between the north and the south. Among the ordinary inhabitants of Ho Chi Minh City it is not difficult to find a different opinion.

"This is not what we were fighting for during all those years," says a 36-year-old shop owner. "It may have become better in Hanoi, but here they are taking everything away from us, bit by bit."

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CSO: 3650/64

## AGRICULTURE

### SOME STRICTLY PROHIBITED LAND SALES STILL OCCURRING

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 30 Oct 84 p 2

["Replies to Readers" column: "Field Cession, Sale Strictly Prohibited"]

[Text] Many readers have asked if they have the right to sell or cede their fields. Can those who are issued land be punished if they do not use it to the proper degree? The General Department of Land Management answers the readers of NHAN DAN as follows:

One of the primary objectives of the land policies and laws of our party and state is that: land must be assigned to organizations or individuals with use requirements. When land is no longer needed or the entire area is not used, it must be returned to the state for assignment to another user. This is the foundation for eliminating all forms of land exploitation such as land letting and renting, mortgages, sales and cessions; and is also a basic factor for stimulating increasingly better use of land in general and agricultural and forestry land in particular, and assuring that land is used precisely in accordance with projects, plans and the law.

Aimed at this objective, our state has previously strictly prohibited the cession or sale of field land. Decree 125-CP on 28 June 1971 of the Council of Ministers strictly prohibited the purchase and sale of land. The 1980 Constitution of our country stated, "Land is owned by all the people under the united management of the state." Thus, no one has the right to privately own land. Fields are not the private property of the citizen and therefore cannot be ceded or sold.

Agencies, enterprises, state farms and forests, farms, units of the armed forces, cooperatives, production collectives, etc. and citizens are absolutely prohibited from letting, renting, mortgaging, ceding or selling land under any form; and cannot consider land as merchandise which may be used or sold for a profit. Compliance with state articles strictly prohibiting the sale and cession of land is no different than protecting the system of ownership by all the people.

Decision 201-CP of the Council of Ministers on unifying and strengthening land management throughout the nation has been well-achieved by many local areas. Nevertheless, land sales and cessions are still occurring in a number of locations under many complex forms: some individuals use the excuse of selling a

house when they are truly secretly selling land; and cases have occurred in which, unable to sell the land, a two-story temporary structure is erected and sold as a guise to sell the land. Many individuals have agreed to sell land to each other but concealed under a form of "charitable contribution."

All forms of land cessions and sales even if "notarized" are illegal. Anyone who cedes or sells any type of land is violating the Constitution and the law on land.

Any land user who arbitrarily cedes or sells his land will, depending on the severity of the offense, be punished under various forms: receive a warning or be fined and have his land confiscated. If it is an agency, unit, etc. committing the violation, besides being punished, the man primarily responsible in the agency or unit can be disciplined in an administrative manner or may be required to pay part of his salary to the agency or unit. Cases of serious or repeat offenses will be tried before a court of law and punished in accordance with current criminal law.

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CONDOM SHORTAGE HURTS BIRTH CONTROL PLANS

Bangkok THE NATION REVIEW in English 28 Nov 84 p 5

[Text]

A POPULATION boom is severely straining Vietnam's limited resources but attempts to curb the growth rate are seriously handicapped by lack of birth control devices.

International family planning experts in Bangkok said Vietnam did not produce such items as condoms, pills and IUDs (Inter-Uterine Devices) and everything had to be imported.

But they said that Vietnam, after almost 30 years of war with France and the United States and now engaged in sporadic border conflicts with China and a guerrilla war in Kampuchea, did not have the foreign exchange to purchase the devices.

Neither was there a fixed state budget for family planning, they said.

The experts estimated Vietnam's annual population growth at between 2.4 and 2.5 per cent. They said that unless this was curbed the population would soar to 90 million by the year 2000 from 57 million at present.

Food production is barely enough to meet the needs of the present population, they added.

**TARGET DATE**

UN experts here who visit Vietnam regularly said Hanoi is firmly committed to family planning and encourages families to have no more than two children.

But until the creation of a national committee for population and family planning early this year there was no central body coordinating population-related policies throughout the country, they added.

A few years ago the Hanoi government set 1985 as the target date for achieving a 1.7 per cent population growth rate. But UN demographers are pessimistic the target will be met.

The government also said it hoped to keep the population level at 75 million by the year 2000.

A UN report made available to Reuters said that Hanoi plans to resettle 10 million people from the North to the South by the end of the century for a better balance between population and resources.

The major distribution areas will be the Mekong Delta, the Eastern rubber growing areas and the plateau areas where there is suitable land for reclamation.

In 1981 when the population of Vietnam was 54 million, 28 million were in the North which had a cultivated land area of two million hectares (about five million acres) while the rest were in the South with over three million hectares (7.5 million acres) of cultivated land.

The UN report said if the government met its population target by the year 2000, without

resorting to redistribution, 38 million people would be concentrated in the North with three million hectares (7.5 million acres) of cultivated land and 37 million would be in the South with seven million hectares (17.3 million acres) of cultivated land.

### **FACTORY**

Experts said the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) was basically the only source of foreign funding for Vietnam's purchase of contraceptives.

But they said the money earmarked for contraceptives, roughly about \$500,000 annually, provided devices for only about 10 per cent of those in the reproductive age group.

A UNFPA representative in Hanoi, Michel Arriot, in a published letter recently said a condom production factory would be built in Ho Chi Minh city next year with UN assistance. It would produce about 75 to 80 million condoms annually by the year 1988.

But UNFPA officials in Bangkok said the proposal was still in the planning stage. Other UN experts said one plan under consideration was for the purchase of a condom factory for installation in Vietnam.

Demographers said a major obstacle to family planning in Vietnam was that some government policies indirectly tended to encourage larger numbers of children.

They cited as examples the widespread provision of creches for children of working mothers and paid maternity leaves.

They said Vietnamese women were entitled to fully paid leaves two months before and two months after delivery.

In addition mothers were entitled to allowances for medicines, nutrition and baby clothes. Additional allowances were given to those having twins or triplets.

Other entitlements included one hour off for breastfeeding and 15 to 20 days paid leave for working women to care for ailing children under seven years old.

Government statistics show condoms to be the most popular contraceptive device followed by IUD, abortion, and the pill.

Voluntary sterilization is unpopular and in 1980 only 1,129 men submitted to vasectomy while 13,245 women underwent ligation.

UN experts said there was enough awareness among the people of the need to limit families.

What they lacked were contraceptives to do the job. — Reuter

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